

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND HISTORY

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~~VOL. I~~

THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF
EDINBURGH IN THE FACULTY OF ARTS,
FEBRUARY 1965.



CONTENTS

Abbreviations Used in the Text and Footnotes	I
Introduction	xi.
 Pt.I. Scott as Historian	
A. His Reading in History	1
B. Editing Texts: Scott's background, views, and activities.	21
C. Historical Writing.	
(i) Scott's background: Scottish Historiography, 1750-1832.	85
(ii) Scott's opinions on the writing of history.	165
(iii) Catalogue of Scott's historical writings.	184
(iv) Sir W. Scott, Biographer of Napoleon.	192
(v) Sir W. Scott, historian.	203
 Pt.II. Scott as Historical Novelist	
A. Scott's opinions on historical fiction.	259
B. Scott's practice.	
(i) Introduction.	280
(ii) Historical Sources of the Waverley Novels: "strict" and "free" writing.	284
(iii) Alterations to historical fact in the novels: a caution.	390
(iv) Attitudes to history in the novels.	399
 Appendix I: Scott's historical allusions.	430
Additional Abbreviations	430
Ancient History.	435
Europe, the Expansion of Europe, and the East.	436
England; Wales; and Britain after 1603.	450
Irish History.	488
Scottish History.	489.
 Appendix II (A-D): Data on Scott's edition of the <u>Somers Tracts</u> .	531

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

NOTE: References to Sir Walter Scott's original public writings, with one exception, and unless otherwise stated, are to the last issue of his complete works, published by A. and C. Black between 1880 and 1882, and consisting of Poetical Works in 12 volumes, the Waverley Novels in 48 volumes, and the Miscellaneous Prose Works in 30 volumes. The one exception is the "Lardner" History of Scotland, for which see below. It should be noted that The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border and Sir Tristrem, though not, strictly speaking, original works, constitute vols. I-V of the Poetical Works.

D.N.B.

Dictionary of National Biography.

DrydenThe Works of John Dryden, ed. Walter Scott, 18 vols., 1808.Dryden LifeWalter Scott, The Life of John Dryden, in Misc. Prose Works, I.GrandfatherWalter Scott, Tales of a Grandfather in Misc. Prose Works, XXII-XXVIII.JournalThe Journal of Sir Walter Scott, one-volume edition, 1950.

Kirkton Review

W. Scott, 'Review of Kirkton's Church History,' in Misc. Prose Works, XIX."Lardner" HistorySir Walter Scott, History of Scotland (1830), written for The Cabinet Cyclopaedia conducted by the Rev. Dionysius Lardner.LettersThe Letters of Sir Walter Scott, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 12 vols., 1932-37.

Lives

Biographical and Critical sketches, collected in Misc. Prose Works, III-IV. [These vols. consist largely of the pieces long famous under the title of Lives of the Novelists].

Lockhart

John G. Lockhart, Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott, ed. A. W. Pollard, 5 vols., 1900.

Sadler Memoir

W. Scott, 'Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler,' in Misc. Prose Works, IV.

Sadler Papers

The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler ... ed. Arthur Clifford, with memoir and notes by Walter Scott, 2 vols., 1809.

Secret History

Secret History of the Court of James the First, ed. Walter Scott, 2 vols, 1811.

S.H.S.

Scottish History Society.

Somers

A collection of scarce and valuable tracts ... selected from ... libraries, particularly that of the late Lord Sommers, 2nd edition, edited by Walter Scott, 13 volumes, 1809-15. [Generally known as Somers Tracts]

Swift

The Works of Jonathan Swift, ed. Walter Scott. 19 vols., 1814.

Swift Memoir

W. Scott, Memoirs of Jonathan Swift, D.D., in Misc. Prose Works, II.

SIR WALTER SCOTT AND HISTORY

Introduction

In his own time, Scott had a high reputation as an authority on history. He wrote the article on "Chivalry" for Encyclopaedia Britannica in 1818. As one of "a certain number of learned and intelligent friends," he was consulted in 1823 by Petrie, Keeper of Records at the Tower of London, about the publication of early English historical material.¹ In 1829, Scott was honoured by a request from Government to superintend work on the Stewart Papers, formerly belonging to the Cardinal Duke of York;² and although the project came to nothing so far as Scott was concerned, the distinction remains as a tribute to his standing. Sir Thomas Dick Lauder must have expressed the opinion of an important section of the public when he wrote, à propos of his distinguished ancestor, Lauder of Fountainhall: "There does not now, and perhaps there never will, exist any individual who could elucidate him as happily as your high talents and your deep research in the historical anecdote of your country must enable you to do."³ The third Marquess of Londonderry wanted Scott to write the life

1. Letters, VII, 340. n.

2. Letters, XI, 214.

3. Letters, VII, 174n.

of his half-brother, famous in history as Lord Castlereagh, moved, it seems, by admiration for the recently-published Life of Napoleon.¹ When Wellington discovered some original papers relating to Charles V and Francis I, he thought that if Principal Robertson's family did not want them for a new edition of The Reign of Charles V, Scott was the right person to have such material.² This association of the names of Robertson and Scott is interesting. Another noble personage, the Duke of Buckingham, published an edition, limited to two hundred sets, of the Irish historians, under the editorship of the Stowe librarian, Charles O'Connor; one of these sets was presented to Sir Walter Scott.³ Perhaps an acquaintance with the older Irish history was not actually presumed in this gift, but it certainly implied in a general way that Scott belonged to a small group of choice historical spirits. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland made him a Vice-President;⁴ he was appointed "Professor of Antiquities" to the Royal Academy⁵ - without salary or duties; as "Author of Waverley" he was elected to the Roxburghe Club.⁶

In the twentieth century, Sir Robert Rait has said that no man ever knew, or ever will know, so much about Scottish history as Sir Walter;⁷

and Professor J. D. Mackie, as lately as 1956, listed Tales of a

1. Letters, X, 295, 300;
Journal, 420.
2. Letters, VIII, 452.
3. Letters, X, 144.
4. 1827-29.
5. Journal, 344.
6. Letters, VII, 341.
7. Sir Walter Scott Quarterly, Vol. 1 (April 1927), p.14.

Grandfather as a standard work in his Reader's Guide to Scottish History.¹ Most readers of Scott will remember the consternation with which they first beheld in youth the formidable apparatus of historical annotation appended by the author to his poems and novels; remembering that Scott repeatedly described these books as works of "mere entertainment," one learns a new respect for the highly civilised Georgian public for which he catered. So much erudition has perhaps never been displayed by any artist of standing.

But criticism was not lacking from the beginning; apart from the censures which are always directed at individual performances, there have been those who declared quite generally that Scott was a poor antiquary and a bad historian. Probably the most weighty criticism came from Thomas Thomson, the great records scholar and life-long intimate of Scott. He said in a letter of June, 1816, to Francis Horner, the economist:² "Walter Scott has covenanted to write a popular history of Scotland from the earliest period down to 1745 ... it will be a very amusing book, I have no doubt - full of errors and mistaken views, but these he will gradually weed out in the course of successive editions ... It will not, however, be a good history; it will rather be a collection of striking descriptions and characters, with little of true historical connection. In some of its minute details, he will

1. National Book League Pamphlet.

2. C. Innes, Memoir of Thomas Thomson, 155.

contrive to make the work extremely amusing." Writing to Lord Minto in 1825 he referred to Scott, not by name, but as "your neighbour on the Tweed," and spoke of Scott's projected Life of Napoleon in the following terms:¹ "You may guess at his own impression of its success when I add that he has suspended the further progress of the work, and has, most wisely, begun a new tale - Woodstock."

There is an acid undertone to these remarks about an old friend, which offers a sad little contrast to the admiring enthusiasm of Scott's tributes to Thomson, and which warns the reader that there may be jealousy in the case. The fact must be borne in mind that Scott belonged to the Tory establishment, and had won fame and fortune by his writings; while Thomson remained comparatively poor and obscure, supporting the party normally in opposition at a time when party animosities were keen. This very natural jealousy seems even to have survived Scott's financial disaster and his pitiful death, to judge by a letter printed in Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondents.² Constable, Scott's publisher and fellow-sufferer in the financial crisis of 1825-6, was roughly handled by Lockhart in his Life of Scott (1837), and Thomson was consulted by Constable's son David about the best method of defending the great publisher's memory. His answer was:

1. *Ib.*, p.166.

2. Vol. III, p.459.

"Your father was dragged on to his ruin not by his own impetuous and speculative genius so much as by the overbearing appetency of others for the means of meeting and sustaining an extravagant system of expenditure." This, thought Thomson, would be a "satisfactory, graceful, and becoming defence;" to maintain, in other words, that the person responsible for Constable's bankruptcy was Sir Walter Scott, with his desire to be a landed proprietor and founder of a county family. And yet Thomson was the friend to whom Scott had applied, a year before his death, to check a rumour that David Constable was going to publish Scott's letters to Archibald Constable, and if necessary to threaten legal action.¹ - These considerations warn us not to accept Thomson's views too readily; yet however regrettable the tone of his remarks may seem, the substance of his criticism of Scott as a historian is not necessarily affected.

Charles K. Sharpe was another friend of Scott's; also a well-known antiquary - though not of Thomson's quality - whose house in Drummond Place, Edinburgh, was called the Scottish Strawberry Hill. He helped Scott with The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, and had help in turn from Scott in his own editorial work, of which more anon. After Scott's death, Sharpe said that Abbotsford was "a farrago and omnium gatherum of miscellaneous trash," and that "Sir Walter knew

1. Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1752, p.294. (Unpublished Scott letters).

nothing of antiquity though he pretended to understand it; in that he was the greatest dunce and liar I ever knew." (These remarks are among Sharpe's marginalia to Sir Daniel Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh, and are printed in Wilson's later Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh, published in 1878 - see Vol. 1, p.41-2). The jealousy of a rival collector need not be taken very literally; but all the same these opinions deserve serious consideration as those of a man well acquainted both with history and with Scott.

Sir Walter himself betrayed a doubt in his Journal (28th March 1827):¹ "After all, I think Ballantyne is right, and that I have some talents for history-writing after all" [sic].

So much for "straight" history. In the matter of historical fiction, everyone knows that Scott has been praised on the one hand for his power of making the past live again, and fiercely denounced on the other for inaccuracy, anachronism, distortion of the facts, and such other crimes as infer grave doubts of his historical integrity.

G. M. Trevelyan says Scott revolutionised historical studies through the influence of his novels;² but C. K. Sharpe says: "As to Sir Walter's harmless romances - not harmless, however, as to bad English - they contain nothing; pictures of manners that never were, are, or will be,

1. Journal, 335.

2. Autobiography and Other Essays, (1949), - 'The influence of Sir Walter Scott on History.'

besides ten thousand blunders as to chronology, costumes, etc."¹

Similarly: "Dickens ... is worth an hundred Sir Walter Scotts because he paints (extravagantly) real manners; Sir Walter what never was - is - or will be."² The contemporary Gentleman's Magazine was worried about historical accuracy, when reviewing such novels as The Monastery³ - a notable offender; and in a later generation Freeman, in his Norman Conquest⁴, delivered a well-known attack on Ivanhoe.

It might be said that such attacks, even if justified, were in their way tributes to the novels and their author. This point will suggest itself to anyone who reads the Memoirs of the Chevalier Johnstone, which contain interesting matter on the "Forty-five" rising. They were published in 1819, shortly after the appearance of Waverley and possibly under its stimulus; the anonymous editor gravely censures Waverley for historical misrepresentation, pointing out, for example (p.19), that Fergus McIvor's eagerness for the march into England, in the novel, is not in keeping with the views actually held by the clan chiefs on the matter. Again, Scott might be gratified in a sense to think that a learned German, Hermann Isaac, should take the trouble to discuss the historical errors of Kenilworth in 1886.⁵ But the

1. Letters to and from C. K. Sharpe, (1888), II, 519.

2. Ib., II, 519.

3. In Oct. 1820.

4. Ed. 1867, V. 839.

5. Amy Robsart und Graf Leicester.

outstanding example of this tendency to accord the status of history books to the Waverley novels is the lively controversy aroused in Scotland by Old Mortality. The eminent historian, Thomas McCrie, led the attack with three articles which will require further notice later; the point at present is that a controversial "History of the Covenanters" could not have caused more excitement in professional circles than this work of "mere amusement."¹

What then really was Scott's relation to history? The question seems to offer a fair field for a moderately extended inquiry into his ideas and his practice, as historian and as historical novelist.

1. a favourite phrase of Scott's in speaking of his novels.

PART I: SCOTT AS HISTORIAN.

A. His Reading in History.

"It is an awkward thing to read in order that you may write," said Scott, referring to James Hogg's ignorance of history;¹ he knew that his own major asset as a historian was the very wide reading he did in youth, and kept up-to-date through life. In the "Autobiography" which figures as Chapter 1 of Lockhart's Life, he describes the omnivorous reading of his boyhood, and the prominent place held therein by history. The same story reappears in Waverley,² whose hero qualifies himself for life (badly according to the author), by driving through a sea of books³ like a vessel without a rudder. The Covenant, Buchanan, Brantôme, de la Noue - these and others are mentioned as formative influences in these passages, of which the second is equally autobiographical with the first, though professedly fictitious. At least as early as 1792⁴ he was compiling books of transcriptions and memoranda, which contained, amid much miscellaneous literary matter, some historical matter as well. When The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border came out in 1802-3, the ballads were found to be presented amid a welter of annotation which proved the author, at the age of thirty, to be an exceptionally well-read person. It seems probable that Scott continued to draw very largely on this early reading for the rest of his

1. Letters, V, 316.
2. Lockhart, I, 115.
3. Waverley, I, 115.
4. Lockhart, I, 172.

career; for example, in the historical notes written from about 1826¹ as illustrations for the 1829 standard edition of the Waverley Novels (referred to by Scott as the "Magnum Opus"), the attentive reader will detect a fair amount of repetition from earlier work. And in spite of the impressive character of the Waverley annotation in the eyes of the naïve, it cannot compete for a moment with that of the Minstrelsy for wealth of matter and allusion. Yet there is ample evidence to show that his background reading, if it slowed down with time, never came anywhere near to stopping.

Scott's writings, then, are peppered with allusions to historians, annalists, and historical matter generally. Some preliminary survey of these is called for, as indicating, in a summary and convenient manner the wealth of his historical knowledge, the scope of his historical work, and, to a great extent, the direction of his interests - controlled at some points, no doubt, by the interests of that general reading public for which he catered increasingly as his career advanced.

It is admitted that such evidence must not be regarded as trustworthy in every detail. Everybody knows that one can speak about books on occasion without having read them, and Scott may sometimes have

1. Journal, 72.

done so. (On the other hand, one may read books and not speak about them). Everyone knows too that books can be cited at second hand, and it may be that Scott occasionally does this. But the more you learn about Scott, the more cautious you become in attributing "ingenuity and artifice" to his displays of learning. Again, the omission of a famous name from the list - John Millar, for example - can easily be accidental. But in a broad way, and in view of the fact that Scott relied a good deal on memory when writing, this evidence may perhaps be safely accepted at something like its high face value. Scott was very well read indeed in British History - as well in English as in Scottish; his strongest period in this field was the 17th and earlier 18th Century; his European history presents a tolerable outline, but is best filled in in the parts nearest home; his Ancient history is very sketchy - these are the main conclusions which may be drawn.

In the field of Ancient History, readers will find a fair number of references to Tacitus, who however is normally quoted for the evidence he offers about early British history. The same is true of Caesar, although he is alluded to much less frequently. A number of other classical writers are mentioned, but only once or twice each - Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Livy, Josephus, Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Polyaeus, Ptolemy, Solinus, Dio, Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian. The existence

of 18th Century writers on the ancient world is acknowledged only by a few stray references to Rollin (mentioned only with distaste), Bryant, Alexander Adam, Adam Ferguson and Mitford.

For Scott, history began at home, and few will be surprised to find his references to ancient history meagre - except perhaps those who know how well versed he was in the Latin poets. The really intimate familiarity he displays with, particularly, Virgil and Horace, stands in strong contrast to his neglect of ancient history. Writing to his last publisher, Cadell, during the voyage to Italy in 1831, he said frankly, "I care little for classical antiquities",¹ thus making an admission which many in those days would suppress. His attitude to mediaeval Malta, visited during the same voyage, was different. - Not only did Scott scarcely ever write about classical times; he did not even approve the traditional practice of using classical parallels when discussing modern history; these he condemned as the "effusions of a college pedant;"² and indeed they appear to have passed out of fashion after Swift's time, being hard to find in Hume, Robertson, and other eminent historians of 18th Century Scotland. Robert Southey, however, was so ill-advised in his Peninsular War as to give a detailed account of the ancient history of places mentioned,

1. Letter of 14/11/1831 in Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1752, p.428.
2. Swift, III, 255.

and this is criticised by Scott:¹ "What care we whether Iain be the Aurigi Pringi or Onorigis of the ancient Spaniards or no ...?" It may be that Scott had enlightened views on the undue prominence of classical studies in the education of his day - see his speech at the opening of the Edinburgh Academy in 1824;² but his neglect of ancient history is just as likely to be due to its association in his mind with task-work and schoolmasters, for whom he had a humorous aversion. Witness Jedediah Cleishbotham, the prolix dominie of the prefatory matter to Tales of My Landlord; and this impression of dons preserved in a private letter:³ "most respectable doubtless and useful in their own way - excellent judges of an obscure passage in a Greek author - understanding perhaps the value of a bottle of old port - connoisseurs in tobacco and not wholly ignorant of the mystery of punch-making ...". True, his taste for Virgil and Horace survived the horrors of the class-room: a fact which may help to prove that he was artist first and historian second.

Moving on to European History (excluding the British kingdoms), we find that the Dark Age is left severely alone, although the names of Procopius and ^u Dido of St. Quentin can be found. Even the Crusading

1. Journal, 250.
2. Lockhart, IV, 184.
3. Letters, VI, 400.

period is not very richly represented; of the writers alluded to - William of Tyre, Raymond d'Agiles, Anna Comnena, Nicetas, Petrus d'Elrilo, Otho of St. Blasien, Abulfaragi, Villehardouin, Joinville, and Gervase of Tilbury - only the Comnena and Joinville make any figure, while Gervase is quoted less for general history than for superstition.

Of the writers of the 14th and 15th Centuries, Froissart enjoys a comical preeminence, being quoted by Scott passim, but especially in the Minstrelsy, Sir Tristrem, Essay on Chivalry, and Tales of a Grandfather. (In fact, the only other writer who can compete with Froissart for the honour of being Scott's favourite historian is Gilbert Burnet.) Philipp^e des Communes is fairly prominent, but the rest - Ralph Higden, Lalaing, Chastellain, Molinet, Olivier de la Marche, Jean de Troyes (i.e. de Roye) - lag far behind. The French bias of all this is obvious.

Old Scandinavia enjoys some prominence - one remembers Edith Batho's opinion¹ that Scott had studied certain of the Sagas in the original, and that the outlook on life of the Waverley Novels resembles that of the Sagas; certainly he alludes to them not infrequently. There are also a few references to other mediaeval matter - Saxo Grammaticus and the Speculum Regale. Of Renaissance writers on Old

1. See Sir Walter Scott Today - ed. Grierson, 1932.

Scandinavia, the name of Olaus Magnus has some prominence, and we find the occasional reference to Olaus Wormius. Later writers are Bartholine, Pontoppidanus, and Torfaeus; but it is very noticeable that Scott was less interested in the general history of Scandinavia than in its folk-lore.

Scattered allusions occur to the Iberian kingdoms in the Middle Ages and in their age of overseas expansion; we find the name of the Cid, Rodrigo of Toledo, Mariana, for mediaeval and Renaissance Spain; Diaz, Ercilla, Gomara and Gumilla for Spanish America; the later Le Quien for Portugal, and Southey for Brazil. Of all these, only Southey's Cid and History of Brazil make much figure, doubtless because Southey and Scott were personal friends.

Various European Humanists appear - Johannes Trithem and Hartmann Schedel in Germany, Aeneas Sylvius, Cellini, Guicciardini, Machiavelli, Paulus Jovius, and Ramusio of the Navigations, in Italy; although none seem to be favourites with Scott. The same is true of the Reformation writers, Baronius, Sleidanus, Sarpi, Famiano Strada and Grotius; but the Wars of Religion in France are more prominent. Although Bodin, de Thou, and Mézeray are barely mentioned, the picturesque Brantôme and La Noue are clearly more popular with Scott. Many French writers on various branches of history who flourished under

the Bourbons are mentioned, good, bad, and indifferent - Pasquier, Sully, Richelieu, Maimbourg, Bayle, Varillas, Tillemont, Lenfant, Tavernier, Montfaucon, Le Quien (already named in connection with Portugal), Saint-Simon, Vertot, Ste. Palaye, and Raynal - but the favourite, to Scott's eternal credit, is the great Ducange. Outside France, other early representatives of the scientific school of historical study are Leibnitz (Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium) and Muratori; although in general Germany and Italy are very much on Scott's perimeter.

He had not, apparently, a great deal of interest in the European aspect of the Enlightenment: Voltaire is rarely named, although Gibbon does better, but Robertson, considered as a European historian, is very much dwarfed by Robertson considered as a historian of Scotland. Even less attention is given to Scott's own contemporaries in this field: he mentions Schiller; the Frenchmen Barante, Petitot, and Buchon; Tooke on Russia; Orloff and Pastoret on Naples. (Books on the events of Scott's own life-time are excluded from consideration here). Southey's Brazil has already been mentioned.

The Anglo-Saxon expansion overseas may well be considered at this point. The voyage collections of Hakluyt, Purchas, Dampier and Wafer are named; Mather, Holmes and Adair on colonial America;

Knollys on Turkey, Pellow on Barbary, Orme on India, Elphinstone on Afghanistan, and Malcolm on Persia. Interest in this expansion is connected with a certain interest in Firdausi's 10th Century Shahnama, and Babur's 16th Century memoirs, relating to the foundation of the Mogul empire. References to all these are scanty enough, except for Elphinstone and Malcolm, who certainly had a beneficial influence on Scott.

One's general impression from all this is that European history, and much more Asiatic and American history, stand a little dimly in Scott's background. Even when writing stories from French history¹ - the field he knew most about outside the British - he pads out with English matter, and relies for the rest somewhat heavily on Froissart and Joinville. His undoubtedly active interest in Froissart may account for the belief, quite common even in this country, that Scott was principally a mediaevalist - it is possible to find in a modern text-book the phrase "Scott's mediaeval Scottish novels", meaning not simply the Fair Maid and Castle Dangerous, but the "Scotch novels", or even the Waverley novels, in general. Taking his work as a whole, however, mediaevalism is a subordinate element, in spite of Sir Tristrem and his interest in the mediaeval Scottish chronicles.

1. Grandfather, Vols. VI and VII.

This seems clear from an examination of his references to English history. The mediaeval chroniclers mentioned are certainly numerous - Gildas, Aneurin, ⁿNeynius, Bede, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Eadmer, Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Orderic Vitalis, Wace, William of Newburgh, Giraldus ⁿCambrexis, Ingulphus of Crowland, Matthew Paris, Robert of Gloucester, Mannyng (de Brunne), Trivet, Langtoft, "Matthew of Westminster", Gray's Scalachronicon, Walter of Hemingburgh (Hemingford), "Richard of Cirencester", Knighton, Higden, Hawkwood, Hardyng, Walsingham, John of Brompton, Paston Letters, Fabyan - but the allusions to each are few in number, apart from some which are specially associated with literature - Wace, Brunne, Geoffrey of Monmouth.

On the other hand, although the number of 16th Century writers is smaller - the chroniclers and scholars Polydore Vergil, Hall, Boorde, Grafton, Leland, Holinshed, Stow, Camden, and Savile; the memoirs and papers associated with Sadler, Harington, Naunton, Vere, Roger Williams, and Cecil; - the "Cabala"; the religious writers Foxe, Allen, Sanders, Martin Marprelate; and the Welsh antiquaries Powel, Lewis and Llyud - yet certain of them are cited frequently - Sadler, Holinshed, Camden, Stow.

With the 17th Century, the stream of references becomes a flood. We have historians, ^sScholars, antiquaries, and compilers - Raleigh,

Gwyllim, Rowlands (Verstegen), Speed, Dugdale, D'Ewes, Baker, Selden, Spellman, Cotton, Twysden, Ashmole, Anthony Wood, Blount, Gale, Rymer, Nicolson, Hickes, Stillingfleet, William Lloyd. We have contemporary annals, memoirs, and papers from Moryson, Winwood, Arthur Wilson, Osborne, Weldon, Finnett, Herbert of Cherbury, Cary (Earl of Monmouth), Wotton, Buckingham, Howell, Rushworth, Sir Edward Walker, Sanderson, Clarendon, Menteith (de Salmonet), Fairfax, Hutchinson, Slingsby, Hodgson, Wwynne, Sir T. Herbert, Peyton, Warwick, Heath, May, Whitelocke, Fuller, Ludlow, Thurloe, David Lloyd, Marvell, Anthony Hamilton, Evelyn, Pepys, Forde Grey, Reresby, Sheffield, Welwood, North, James II, Roger Cook, and Burnet. We have the religious writers Thomas Edwards, Hacket, Jerome Porter, Prynn, John White, Pagitt, Heylin, Baxter, Fox (George), and Collier. The astrological quack John Lilly is worth mentioning, as Scott was interested in his political dabbings; in general, however, material dealing solely with specialised fields, such as superstition and folk-lore, is not noticed here. It is, even by itself, bulky.

From this stupendous mass, a few items may be selected as outstanding. The frequency of reference to Arthur Wilson reflects Scott's interest in Gentle King Jamie; biographical writings are understandably prominent, particularly Anthony Wood, Roger North, and James Howell;

the two sides in the great national dispute are very fairly represented; for example, the heavy reliance placed upon Clarendon is balanced by an even longer list of allusions to Gilbert Burnet, Whig and Low Churchman though he was; Scott's references to scholarly books are surprisingly numerous, the favourite being Rymer's Foedera. One must never label Scott as a lover of the picturesque and nothing more.

The 18th Century gives us the general histories of Kennet, Echard, Oldmixon, Rapin, Carte, Ralph, Adam Anderson (commerce), Hume, Smollett, Granger, Robert Henry, Eden, and the big reference works of Collins (Peerage and Baronetage), Biographia Britannica, State Trials, and Parliamentary History. The great collections of Tracts - Somers Tracts and Harleian Miscellany - come in here, but Scott knew lesser collections as well, besides an uncountable mass of the individual tracts and ephemeral publications of those fertile 17th & 18th Centuries. Specialised work on older periods - including the editing of texts - is represented by Hearne, Tanner, P. Forbes, Jebb, Peck, Oldys, Birch, Murdin, Haynes, Walpole (Horace), Lyttelton (Henry II), Sir John Dalrymple, James Macpherson, James Johnstone (Scandinavian antiquities), Gough (editor of Camden), Thomas Somerville, Coxe, Strutt, and the "Dainty chield" of Burns, Francis Grose. The antiquarian tourist Pennant may be named here. Of contemporary memoirs, etc., Scott mentions Freind, the Duchess of Marlborough, Lady Suffolk, Atterbury,

Bolingbroke, George Carleton; of religious writers, Strype, Johnson and Neal, and of archaeologists, Horsley, Stukely and Roy.

In comparison with the 17th Century, interest seems to be rather more evenly distributed among the 18th Century works; Ralph leads the general histories, and the State Trials is the most used of the big collections.

A variety of 19th Century writers figures in Scott - Sharon Turner, Lingard, Palgrave, Fosbrooke, C. J. Fox (on James II), Nichols, Cayley, Lodge, Debrett, Nicolas, Galt (Wolsey), Meyrick, Blore, Henry Ellis, Caulfield, Hone, Mills, G.P.R. James, Thomson (Richard), Isaac D'Israeli - but the only one to whom Scott pays much attention is Turner, whose Anglo-Saxon history was appreciated by Scott for the landmark it was. (Hallam seems to be missing.)

Finally, it is surprising how much English local history Scott could touch upon, from the Border to Cornwall. He knew a great deal about the North from Surtees, Raine, Charlton, Hargrove, Drake, Hutchinson, Nicolson and Burn, Wallis, and Whitaker; something about Man from Sacheverall and Waldron, about Lancashire from Roby, Staffordshire from Shaw, Leicester from Nichols, Warwickshire from Dugdale, Oxfordshire from Plot, Berkshire from Ashmole, Hertfordshire from Chauncey and Clutterbuck, London from Bayley and Malcolm, Dorset from Coker, Devon from Westcote, if not from Polwhele, Cornwall from

Borlase and Carew, and Pembroke from Fenton.

There is no mystery about Scott's knowledge of English history - he spent much time editing English literary and historical works, especially Dryden, Swift, and Somers - but it does raise a problem. It has been customary to say that the "English" Waverley novels are inferior to the "Scotch", because he did not know English history as he knew Scottish. But it seems that he did in fact know English history as well as Scottish, even if one admits that English sources are often quoted for matters of Scottish interest. It may be, indeed, that Scott knew his English history less thoroughly, but proof of this assertion would be difficult, especially considering that English material is on occasion transferred in the novels to a Scottish context, and becomes therefore a source for the great Scotch novels. The superiority of the latter is undoubted, but has probably nothing to do with history. Scott's field, beyond a doubt, was British, not merely Scottish, history.

Irish history plays a comparatively minor role in Scott; yet when he mentions the Brehon Laws and Giraldus for the Middle Age, Campion, Derricke (Image of Ireland) and Spenser for the 16th Century, Castlehaven and Ware for the 17th, O'Flaherty, John Curry and Joseph Walker for the 18th, Monck Mason and O'Connor for his own day, Scott does tolerably well. His chief interests seem to have been the Tudor

Conquest, the analogy between the Old Irish and the Highlanders, and the analogy between Ireland & Scotland generally in their relationship to England. Scott had a good knowledge of the Irish pamphlet literature of Swift's time, but again it is scarcely possible to do justice to this, beyond drawing attention to Scott's edition of Swift and his notes thereto.

His reading in Scottish history displays one or two features not found elsewhere, or only to a slight extent. The public records of this kingdom, being more readily accessible to Scott than other matter of the same kind, are cited by him surprisingly often, considering his reputation as a popular writer. The reader will find, without difficulty, quotations from the Acts of the Scottish Parliament, & the records of the executive - Chamberlain, Treasury, Exchequer, Privy Council, and especially the last; with stray references to the Book of Adjournal and the Book of the Universal Kirk. Much of this material was in MS. at the time, and may well have been supplied to Scott by Register House friends - in fact, sometimes he acknowledges such a debt.

Notable also are the references to Scottish family papers, many of which Scott had undoubtedly seen in MS; he mentions documents belonging to various families of the names Armstrong, Baillie, Bannatyne, Borthwick, Buchanan, Cameron, Campbell, Clanranald, Crichton, Douglas, Drummond, Dundas, Fraser, Fullarton, Gordon, Graham, Haig, Haliburton, Hamilton

(Haddington), Johnston, Keith, Ker, Kirkpatrick, Lauder, Learmonth, McDonald (McDonell), McGregor, Macintosh, McKenzie, Macpherson, Maitland, Maxwell, Murray, Napier, Ogilvie, Riddell, Rutherford, Scott, Somerville, Stewart, Swinton. Many of these documents have a public character, being records of transactions with government; some are important MS. collections of state papers, like the Morton Papers.

The MS. records of religious houses also figure, though much more modestly; allusions can be found to Dryburgh, Melrose, Kelso, Newbattle, Paisley and Soutra.

Finally, Scott read and used a number of works which were still in MS. in his day, or at least were printed - usually at his instigation - after he had used them. Into this class come Blackader's Covenanting memoirs; the writings of the Jacobites Sinclair, (Elcho,) Maxwell, and Murray of Broughton; Sir David Lindsay's work on Heraldry; the Diurnal of Occurrents, that important anonymous source for the 16th Century; Walter Macfarlane's vast collections of genealogical and geographical material; other collections, such as those of Sir Lewis Stuart and John Syme; and the interesting 17th Century works of John Nicol, Sir James Turner, and Lord Somerville. Lauder of Fountainhall's very important MS. compilations will call for more attention at a later stage.

Although it is broadly true that Scott relied mainly on printed

books, his use of MS. material can be seen to be of considerable importance, at least in the Scottish field.

For the rest, the pattern of his reading in Scottish history offers few surprises. The mediaeval authorities are the Pictish Chronicles, Adamnan, Turgot, Chronicle of Melrose, Chron. Sanctae Crucis, the account of Edward I's Expedition of 1296, Barbour, the chronicle on the reign of James II, Holland, Wyntoun, Fordun-Bower, "Blind Harry", Rotuli Scotiae. The 16th Century gives Boece, Major, Beaugué, W. Patten, Complaynt of Scotland, Pitscottie, The Black Acts, Knox, Richard Bannatyne, Buchanan, Lesley, Chambers (Camerarius), Melville (Sir James and the Rev. James), Monipenny's Chronicle, James the Sext, Moysie, Diurnal of Occurrents, Birrell, Skene (Sir John). A number of historians, annalists, antiquaries, and lawyers of the 17th Century can be found: Craig, Dempster, Robert Johnston, Balfour (Sir James), Scott of Scotstarvet, Drummond, Nicol, Mackenzie ("Bluidy"), Slezer, Lauder of Fountainhall, Murray of Glendook, Sir Robert Sibbald. On religious controversies we have Calderwood, Spottiswoode, Baillie, Brodie, Law, Kirkton, Burnet, Graham of Claverhouse, Creighton, Wodrow, Blackader; for the Civil War, there are Wishart, Guthrie, and Spalding; for the Revolution, Balcarres, Mackay, Carstares; and finally some prominence is given to the travellers and soldiers Lithgow, Monro, and Turner.

Of publications in the earlier part of the 18th Century - up to about 1750 or 1760 - Scott knew some general works - Abercromby, Nisbet's Heraldry, and George Crawford (Peerage, Crown Officers, etc.); some writers on early Scotland - Henry Maule, Sir James Dalrymple, Innes, Alex. Gordon, Roy, Sir John Clerk, Elibank; he knew James Anderson of the Thesaurus and the Independence; he knew Fletcher of Saltoun; on Church history, he knew Defoe, the Cloud of Witnesses, Bishop Keith, Patrick Walker, and Andrew Stevenson; for the Jacobite movement, he had, besides the MS. already named, Ker of Kersland, Hooke, Rae, R. Patten, and the memoirs of Chevalier Johnstone, George Lockhart and Lord Lovat, Burt's Letters, on the Highlands, belong to this period.

A new era in Scottish historical study began with the publication in 1759 of William Robertson's history of the reigns of Mary and James VI: the period from 1759 to 1832 - almost corresponding to Scott's own life-time - will be reviewed in more detail below. For the moment it may be sufficient to say that not much went on in the field of Scottish historiography which could escape the notice of Sir Walter Scott.

For Scott's knowledge of Scottish local history, the 16th Century produced Donald Monro (Western Isles); the 17th, Hume of Godscroft (Douglas family), Robert Gordon (Sutherland Earls), Lord Somerville,

Scott of Satchells (Scott family), Martine (of Claremont: St. Andrews). The 18th Century gives Sibbald (Northern Isles, Fife and Kinross), Martin (Western Isles and St. Kilda), Hay (Sinclairs; in MS. till 1835), Buchanan of Auchmar (family of Buchanan), William Gordon (Gordon family), Pennecuik (Tweeddale), Macaulay (St. Kilda), Milne (Melrose), Nimmo (Stirlingshire), Arnott and Maitland (Edinburgh). In the 19th Century we have Barry (Orkney), Hibbert and Edmonston (Shetland), Lacunar Strivilinense ("The Stirling Heads"), Mackay (Mackay clan), Chambers (Edinburgh), Gregory (Macgregor family). - Here, of course, it is not likely, in the nature of things, that Scott did much more than sample the field; "Mitchell and Cash" can no doubt furnish a much longer list of local works for the period.

Reviewing this mass, one notices that the later mediaeval sources - Barbour, Henry the Minstrel, Fordun-Bower, and Wyntoun - are all frequently alluded to. There is a contrast here with England, and also with France if we exclude Froissart. It is hardly necessary to state that Scott was fond of the picturesque writers Boece, Pitscottie, and Hume of Godscroft; the point can easily be over-emphasised. Scott's respect for Lord Hailes¹ is worth noting, in view of the difference between the two men: Hailes dry and accurate, Scott

1. See Section C (i) below.

lively and free. The other main point to notice is that Scott, though a Tory in politics, made at least as much use of "left-wing" sources: George Buchanan balances Lesley in the 16th Century; the Covenant, represented mainly by Baillie, Wodrow, Walker, and John Howie, makes an excellent showing against its opponents Spottiswoode, Lauder and Keith; Scott's Whig contemporaries, Pinkerton and Malcolm Laing, are very often quoted.

In discussing the work of professional historians, it is not perhaps usual to describe their background of reading; the normal practice is, no doubt, for critics to take the background for granted, or perhaps to criticise its shortcomings. The present case, however, is that of a man generally regarded as being primarily novelist and poet; a man who pillaged what are called the stores of history to furnish forth his fictions. Such a man is peculiarly liable to be suspected of inadequate and superficial knowledge, and in fact people do sometimes write about Scott's historical "blunders." It is desirable, therefore, to establish at the outset that his background in history was at least as rich as that of any professional historian.

The evidence for what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs is presented in Appendix I.

B. EDITING TEXTS: SCOTT'S BACKGROUND, VIEWS, AND ACTIVITIES.

The value of original sources, and the need to collect, preserve, edit, and publish them, had been recognised long before Scott's day. The work of the 17th Century French school, which developed the study of diplomatic, and which is given pride of place in our text-books, was well-known to Scott, who expresses admiration for men like the Benedictine historians.¹ In England, the foundations for scientific historical work had been laid in Tudor and Stewart times by great collectors and antiquaries like Savile, Selden, Spelman, and Cotton; and continued after the Revolution by Rymer, Hicke, Hearne, and others. In Scotland, there were, in the 17th Century, collectors like Sir James Balfour, Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, Sir Robert Sibbald and his circle; then a little later James Anderson, Robert Milne, and Robert Wodrow. This group includes lawyers, country gentlemen, and ministers, who were then, and continued long to be, the props of Scottish historiography.

In addition to making a large collection of documents relating to Church history, Wodrow published a substantial mass of papers by way of appendix to his History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland (1722). Your modern source-book provides the student with a handy and

1. Letters, I, 259.

useful selection from the embarrassing wealth of material already in print; but Wodrow's object was different. He obviously felt that if his documentary basis remained inaccessible, his history would be virtually unauthenticated, and that this would not be good enough for modern readers. His preface suggests well the atmosphere of the time: "It is with pleasure I observe a growing inclination in this age to have historical matters well vouched ... with a prevailing humour of searching records, registers, letters and papers written in the times we would have knowledge of." In the same spirit, Thomas Innes' Essay¹ that pioneer work on the intractable Scottish First Millenium, carries an appendix setting forth chronicles of the Picts and Scots, and other papers.

Others before Wodrow liked to have their history well vouched - John Knox's History of the Reformation includes a respectable mass of papers, and the 17th Century Calderwood was quite as "document-conscious" as the later Wodrow; - but if it be wrong to speak of new ideals being "born" in this period, it does seem to be true that they obtained wider acceptance, while the advance of technical skill and the sheer volume of work done create the impression of a new world, separated from the old by a great gulf. Thus it happens that those who live in

1. The work of a Catholic exile in France.

an age of rapid technical advance are apt to undervalue earlier periods; even the 18th Century itself, while generally recognised as an age of literary polish, is often regarded today by people who ought to know better as scientifically pre-historic. Nothing corrects this distortion more effectively than a course of reading in historiography.

After 1750, several important source publications on the mediaeval period were undertaken. In 1759, the Scotichronicon, which has been called the foundation of every history of mediaeval Scotland, was printed entire for the first time¹ by Walter Goodall. It is a remarkable fact that this edition has not yet been superseded. James Johnstone specialised in Norse antiquities, and is noted for his translation of the Norwegian account of The Expedition of King Haco to Scotland in 1263 (1782). John Pinkerton, in addition to much literary editing, reprinted in collective form in 1789 the lives of the early Scottish Saints, under the title Vitae Antiquae Sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ... Scotia. This work included the well-known lives by Adamnan and Turgot. Pinkerton's reprint of Barbour's Bruce (1790) was soon superseded by that of John Jamieson in 1820. - Mention of literary editing prompts the remark that a number of the scholars named in this study did notable work in other fields besides that of general history. Indeed,

1. ~~We are not to forget that the English scholars Gale and Hearne had already published portions:~~

some of the great antiquaries of the age, such as Joseph Ritson, worked almost exclusively in literature; but one little source book of Ritson's, the Annals of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, was printed in 1828, long after his death, and reviewed by Scott. - David Macpherson, a notable scholar and protégé of Thomas Thomson, published in 1795 the first edition of the Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun. Further, he had the chief hand in the publication, under the auspices of the new Public Records Commission, of Rotuli Scotiae (1814-19), a large collection of official documents relating to Scotland, kept in certain public repositories in London, and covering the period from Edward I to Henry VIII. Meantime, William Robertson - not Principal Robertson, but a Deputy Keeper in the new Register House - had published in 1798 his Index of Lost Charters, being a list drawn up about 1629, of charters granted by the Scottish Kings between 1309 and 1413, but mostly long lost.

The leading worker in the 16th Century field was of course Principal Robertson, who added an important appendix of original documents to his History of Scotland (1759), covering the reigns of Queen Mary and her son. Of the great triumvirate Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, he is credited with by far the most work on sources. The earlier part of the 16th Century, as well as the late 14th and 15th, was covered by John Pinkerton, whose documentary appendix to his

History of Scotland, running from 1370 to 1542, long remained invaluable. Robertson and Pinkerton between them thus provided a source collection for Scottish history between 1370 and 1603. - Sir John G. Dalrymple (of the Binns) tended, like Robertson, to specialise in the 16th Century. His Fragments of Scottish History (1798) reprinted Patten's account of the Pinkie campaign, and contained among other things Birrell's Edinburgh diary¹ of events in the latter part of the century. In 1806 came the pioneer publication of Richard Bannatyne's Journal, dealing with the first stormy years of James VI, though this was soon superseded by the Bannatyne Club edition of 1836. Marioreybanks' Annals of Scotland (1514-91), a little volume published in 1814, may be worth mentioning. In addition, Dalrymple reprinted Pitscottie (1814) and some 16th Century poetry, and published several little works on local ecclesiastical records.

Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, though more famous in another connection, brought out a number of small source publications with a 17th Century bias. These include Memorials and Letters relating to the History of Britain in the reign of James I (1762), a similar volume on Charles I (1766), and the Secret Correspondence between Sir Robert Cecil and James VI (1766). These, like Atterbury's correspondence (1769) and the Opinions of Sarah, Duchess Dowager of

1. First edition.

Marlborough (1788) are all pioneer publications from MS. - Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, carry a very bulky appendix of state papers and letters, illustrating the secret and diplomatic history of the later 17th Century, and compiled in the course of much toilsome research in London and Paris. Indeed, the period 1660 - 1714 aroused exceptional interest in the age of Scott; James ("Ossian") Macpherson's Original Papers (1775), - also a work of much research both in England and France - and the State Papers and letters addressed to William Carstares (1774, with life by McCormick), both cover this period. - All these, it is obvious, deal with British rather than Scottish history.

The interest of Scott's own generation in the Scotland of the earlier 18th Century produced the very interesting Culloden Papers (anonymously edited 1815), being the correspondence of the famous Duncan Forbes of Culloden, and, the Lockhart Papers (anon., 1817), being the memoirs¹ and private papers of George Lockhart of Carnwath, the Jacobite leader.

Wider periods of Scottish history were covered by the collections of State Trials published by Maclaurin (1774) and Arnott (1785), and by the 17th Century Annals of Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, published by James Haig in 1824.

1. Already published 1714.

The source work of Scott himself remains to be considered, as well as that of his protégés, and of the historical clubs which owed so much to his inspiration; but it is appropriate first to give some account of the Register House and Thomas Thomson.

The centralisation of the national records in a suitable building was a task of primary importance, carried out in Scotland in such a way as to provide a model for England. When not being stolen by Edward I, or sunk to the bottom of the sea on their way home from captivity under Cromwell, the public records of Scotland had been accustomed to moulder away unregarded, first in Edinburgh Castle, and later in the Laigh Parliament House, until they were transferred to their present home, the General Register House, Edinburgh, in 1789 - a memorable year, therefore, for Scottish historians as well as for many other people. The records were now, for the first time, properly accommodated and cared for.¹

The next big step was the institution, in 1800, of the Public Records Commission "for the better preservation, arrangement, and more convenient use of the public records of the kingdom," (i.e. the United Kingdom). The work of this Commission was, it seems, rather disappointing and the Public Records Office in London was not established in Scott's

1. H.M. Paton, 'The General Register House', in Old Edinburgh Club Book, XVII (1930).

life-time. Its first act in Scotland was also unpromising - the printing, in 1804, of a volume called Parliamentary Records from the year 1210, which, on closer inspection, proved to be a collection of unofficial memoranda by some comparatively recent hand.¹ This fact, vouched for by Cosmo Innes in his Memoir of Thomas Thomson (1854), appears to justify the statement of Innes that "all record learning was dead in Scotland" at that time. The person who detected the blunder² and prevented such a disgraceful publication was Thomas Thomson, shortly afterwards appointed Deputy to the Lord Clerk Register (1806).

This scholar deserves a substantial paragraph here, not only on account of his important official position, and the distinguished work he did there, but because he was for many years an intimate friend of Walter Scott. They were fellow-advocates, and their common interests outside the law-courts brought them together. In the early days, Scott was a frequent visitor at Thomson's lodgings in Bristo Street,³ and the friendship continued, apparently unbroken, till Scott's death. Scott never wearied of singing his friend's praises in his poems, prose works, and letters;⁴ when the Bannatyne Club was started in 1823,

1. D.N.B. ascribes this vol. to William Robertson, the Deputy Keeper.

2. Innes, Memoir, p.58 ff.

3. Innes, Memoir, p. 23.

4. See, e.g., Lord of the Isles, 339; Monastery, I, 40.

Scott summoned Thomson to a committee meeting in the words "without you we are a tongueless trump" (Letters, 8/137). Scott's only criticism was reported by Lockhart:¹ "Had Thomson been as diligent in setting down his discoveries as he has been in making them, he might, long before this time of day, have placed himself on a level with Ducange or Camden." Innes corroborates this, saying that as Thomson grew older, he had increasing difficulty in getting things down on paper;² in fact, the first volume of the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, because it needed a substantial introduction, was brought out only after Thomson's death by Innes, his successor, many years after the publication of all the rest of the series. There is an interesting contrast here with Scott's fluent pen. - (As advocate, however, Thomson was sometimes compelled to composition on an extended scale, and his "Memoir on Old Extent"³ has been called "a great contribution to the study of Scottish constitutional history.")

It is clear that Thomson possessed skill and knowledge in the field of record work which was most unusual at the time, at least in this country; and that he acquired it under the notable handicap of a consciousness that his work was grossly undervalued. Sir Alexander

1. Lockhart, III, 228.

2. Memoir, 44, 184.

3. Th. Thomson's Memorial on Old Extent, ed. by J.D. Mackie (Stair Society, 1946).

Boswell¹ wrote: "It is rare to find such labours, which are generally abandoned to some dull drudge, performed by a man of genius."² Francis Horner, the Whig economist, protested: "I really cannot consent to give you up for life to Records. We have need of you for higher purposes."³ Scott was aware of such an attitude: "It is common to laugh at such researches, but they pay the good brains that meddle with them."⁴ Disregarding laughter and indifference, Thomson pursued his learned labours to remarkable effect. Cosmo Innes describes how he rescued and repaired the older records; reformed the system of handling current records; and prepared much material for publication by collecting and collating MSS., and deciding questions of authenticity or date.

Thomson's editions are fully enumerated in Innes' Memoir.⁵ Under the authority of the Public Records Commissioners, he brought out the Register of the Great Seal 1306-1424, (1814). This, says Innes, "was a work so careful and accurate as to have quite superseded the consultation of the original Register."⁶ Such a result was possible only because Thomson directed the whole operation and did much of the actual labour himself.⁷ Eleven volumes of the

1. Son of "Bozzy."
2. Letter in Innes', Memoir, p. 69.
3. Ibid., p.160.
4. Reported in Lockhart, III, 228.
5. Pp. 248-51.
6. Memoir, 99.
7. Ibid.

Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland appeared between 1814 and 1824, superseding the older editions of 1566 (✓The Black Acts✓), 1597 (Sir John Skene), and 1681 (Murray of Glendook). - These are merely examples.

Privately, Thomson printed a number of works, including in 1815 a Collection of Inventories and other records of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewel-house, and of the Artillery and Munition in some of the Royal Castles, 1488-1606. Scott was delighted to discover from this that James III actually did possess a "black kist", once full of coin, the subject of an anecdote told by Hume of Godscroft.¹ There was also "Ane Addicioune of Scottis Cornikles and Deidis - A Short Chronicle of The Reign of James the Second, King of Scots", printed in 1809 from Asloane's MS in the Auchinleck collection; In 1821 there appeared the Memoirs of Sir George ("Bloody") Mackenzie.

Thomson did much more actual work for the Bannatyne Club than did its first president, Sir Walter Scott. Innes lists some very important editions under this heading;² the Accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland ... Vols 1-2 (1326-1406) were printed in 1817, and vol. 3 (to 1453) in 1845.³ The 1817 volume was printed six years before the Club was founded, and it seems that Thomson originally intended the

1. Lordoof the Isles, 331.

2. For a convenient list of Bannatyne titles, see Chas. S. Terry, Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies (1909).

3. A volume covering the years 1329-31 had been published in 1771 by John Davidson.

Chamberlain Accounts to appear as official publications, but that the authorities raised financial objections. Finance was not Thomson's strong point, any more than it was Scott's, and on that account he experienced in the end a downfall not unlike Scott's, and in a way equally pitiful.¹ Another mediaeval publication was the celebrated Ragman Rolls (1834); but the work for the Bannatyne shows a marked interest in the fateful 16th Century - Historie and Life of King James the Sext (1825, replacing a very garbled edition by Crawford of Drumsoy);² Sir James Melville's Memoirs (1827, a more authentic edition than the existing); John Lesley's History³ 1830; the Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents 1833; the Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland, 1560-1618 (1839-45); the Morton Papers (1852: the last four, original editions) - all these make up an impressive collection. A 17th Century item remains to be mentioned, and one of special interest to Scott - Sir James Turner's Memoirs (1829). Innes says that Thomson was generous with his assistance to other men's work, and mentions Thomas McCrie's Life of John Knox, Wood's Peerage, and Hutton's Monasticon Scotiae (this last an unpublished work).⁴ Innes might also have mentioned Scott in this connection.

1. Innes gives details.

2. Already corrected in part by Malcolm Laing, 1804.

3. i.e. the version in Scots, 1436-1561.

4. Innes, Memoir, 166.

The claim is made by Cosmo Innes that Thomson effected a total change in the study and conduct of historical inquiries in Scotland.¹ Before his time, "Scotland had no books like Dugdale, no collection of ancient charters, no county history founded on authentic documents."² Before his time, again, all were party writers, except Robertson and Hailes - Whig v. Tory, Celt v. Goth; but this was reformed by the example of Thomson in his work and in his discussions with friends and colleagues. Upon this interesting claim, parts of the present study may provide a commentary; at the very least, it expresses that veneration of an able pupil for his teacher which furnishes the most trustworthy of all general tributes.

Such being the atmosphere of the time and the company in which he lived, one would expect Scott to hold enlightened views on source material and historical authentication; nor does he fail to do so. Writing to a would-be historian of early Scotland, Richard Polwhele, he said: "... there is a woeful deficiency of materials. Boethius is altogether fabulous ... I apprehend the only way to get at historical fact would be to consult the few records which remain of that early period. These indeed are very few, have suffered much, and are not over and above legible. They consist of charters, and of various rolls

1. Memoir, 244.

2. Ibid., 135.

and chamberlain's accounts, kept by our monarchs and their officers of state. If these were carefully examined, I am convinced much fable might be corrected by the application of dates to facts, and perhaps some important truths recovered. Lord Hailes was the first who introduced accuracy into Scottish history. All who precede him may be considered as absolutely legendary. There is therefore a fair field for patient and persevering research and industry."¹ The condemnation of Hailes' predecessors might be regarded as the rather sweeping summary of a hasty writer; he writes almost as if he wished to discourage Polwhele - whose gifts did not match his ambitions - from coming to Edinburgh; but there is no doubt about the general propriety of his views on research. - Elsewhere, he says he looks forward to the publication of the Chamberlain Rolls by Thomson, to "clear some doubtful passages" before bringing out his own view of Scottish history.² Again, "it would take ten years of any man's life to write such a history of Scotland as he should put his name to."³ Reviewing Johnes' translation of Froissart, he praises Froissart for his extensive, if uncritical, use of first-hand material, and for his preservation of some documents.⁴ Urging the Newcastle antiquaries to undertake the transcription of old papers, he cited the case of

1. Letters, III, 425.

2. Letters, IV, 322.

3. Letters, IV, 280.

4. Review of Johnes' Froissart, 126-7 (Prose Works, XIX).

Walter Macfarlane, whose collection of MS. transcripts in the Advocates' Library was already of priceless value owing to the loss of originals.¹ The transcriber must be good, when you are unable or unwilling to do the work yourself: "The labour of the antiquarian transcriber must be a labour both of learning and of love both of the head and affections as well as of the fingers."² Scott was not content to urge transcription; he also advocated publication, and had a high value for clubs devoted to this purpose, free from the necessity of showing a financial profit. There is a long and enthusiastic dissertation on the topic in his Review³ of Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, itself a club publication.

When reviewing the first, abridged edition of Pepys, he pleaded strongly for the complete and unabridged reproduction of sources: "Whatever falls short of this diminishes, to a certain degree, our confidence in the genuine character of his materials."⁴ Again, speaking of Henry Petrie's proposals to publish English chronicles, he disapproves of "loppings and toppings", saying "it is scarce possible for any one man to guess the purpose for which another made such chronicles."⁵ State trials are, similarly, not to be "guttled, garbled, and abridged."⁶

1. Letters, IV, 16.

2. Letters, VII, 142.

3. Prose Works XXI.

4. Review of Pepys' Diary, in Prose Works, XX, 106.

5. Letters, VII, 340.

6. Letters, V, 131.

He shows some scholarly caution: "The Chronicles ... should, I think, be edited by an Englishman who can have access to the MSS. of Oxford and Cambridge, as one cannot trust much to the accuracy of printed copies";¹ and scrupulosity: "nor is it perhaps desirable, where so much depends on minute accuracy, that state-papers should be printed where the proof-sheets cannot be collated with the originals before their being thrown off."²

He was sensitive to informed criticism; a devout correspondent who had impetrated some notes about the Graham/ clan expressed a desire to publish them, whereupon Scott hastily explained that his notes had been scribbled extempore, and were therefore quite unfit for the honour proposed; any antiquary of research would laugh at them both for attaching any value to such writing.³

Turning from theory to practice, we find that Scott was fairly active among the MS., as opposed to the printed sources. Some of the works which he consulted in MS. have already been mentioned.

His work on Sir Tristrem (a romance in the Auchinleck MS) made him sufficiently familiar with mediaeval MSS. to be able to discuss the date of documents; he was duly sceptical about a "Culdee" charter; he records the fact that he had worked in the charter-room at Drumlanrig.⁴

1. Letters, I, 259.

2. Letters, II, 53.

3. Letters, V, 119, 146.

4. Letters, XII, 192, 385; V, 92, 245; VII, 318.

When Simon Glover's heart leapt for joy at sight of the seals appended to the Arbroath Declaration, we may be sure this is Scott speaking, the amateur archivist as well as the patriot.¹ ^{It is curious that the document passed to the Register House from} Tynninghame (where Scott must have seen it when visiting Lord Haddington) in 1829, a year after The Fair Maid of Perth was published.

And yet one is surprised to find that Scott apparently never did any work in the Register House. As Clerk of Session, he had an office there, and told Polwhele that something was in his power in the matter of obtaining access to the records;² but when he wanted to see a statute of David II, alleged to exist by Walter Scott of Satchells, he said³ "I cannot find this statute in our printed records - it must exist among the mass in the Register Office" (still, in 1804, unpublished by Thomson) - the implication being quite clear that he had no intention of looking for it there. It would not be fair to Scott to remark that there is no money in record research; the reason for his inaction in this field must be that impatience of close work for which evidence will be offered later.

However, Scott did enough work on the editing of texts to make himself a special niche, without doing anything else; a review of this is now called for.

1. Fair Maid, II, 143.
2. Letters, III, 425.
3. Letters, XII, 257.

The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border¹ of 1802-3 is, on the textual side, a matter for literary specialists rather than historians. (It will be enough to recall that Scott admitted freely to combining the various versions of his ballads for the best artistic effect, and that he has often been suspected of providing some of the best stanzas himself. The purist example of Joseph Ritson was not followed by Scott.) What concerns the historian is the annotation, which is very plentiful, and drawn from a wide range of printed and MS. sources. The Minstrelsy, be it remembered, was Scott's first great venture in publishing, and it found him already fully qualified in historical knowledge. The question of the qualities of his historical writings will be discussed at a later stage, and it need only be pointed out here that he ranges from the 13th Century to the Covenanting period, and covers not merely Border history but much of the national history as well. Although the ballads are classified as "Historical", "Romantic", and "Imitations", the historical annotation is not confined to the first class, but flows freely right to the end. There is a long introduction (besides the 'Essay on Popular Poetry' added in 1830), and subordinate introductions at intervals throughout the collection. Perhaps few people, even among ballad enthusiasts, sit down to read the Minstrelsy right through; but it is worth doing, I. Poetical Works, I-IV.

not for the sake of those ballads which are never reprinted in anthologies, but for the apparatus. And, as Lockhart says, Scott was here laying the foundation for the rest of his work.

Sir Tristrem¹, a Middle English poem, was meant at first to be published as part of the Minstrelsy, but came out separately in 1804. Once again, this is primarily a matter for the student of literature, or perhaps for the linguists, but several points are of interest to historians. The MS. came from the Auchinleck Collection in the Advocates' Library, and was transcribed for Scott by John Leyden's younger brother;² the printed text was to be collated with the MS. by Henry Weber, Scott's literary drudge,³ but if this was done, it was not well done; E.G.P. M'Neill, who edited the poem for the Scottish Texts Society in 1886, describes the Scott text as appalling. He praises the notes, however, which as in the Minstrelsy are extensive and varied, and chiefly historical in character. Points of history stimulated Scott to annotation more than anything except perhaps the occult. In this work, he sought to establish that the author of the poem was Thomas the Rhymer - later scholars do not accept the theory - and that English was a literary language in

1. Poetical Works, V.

2. Letters, I, 118, 123; XII, 177.

3. Letters, II, 309.

Scotland before attaining that stage of development in England.¹

This piece of national partiality will be recalled in another connection. A very modern writer, Arthur Johnston, in his Enchanted Ground: The Study of Mediaeval Romance in the Eighteenth Century (1964), describes Scott's Sir Tristrem as the first great edition of a mediaeval romance,² praising the editor's diligence, taste, ingenuity in argument, and wide scholarly understanding.

Writing to John Leyden in July 1806,³ Scott said he had "one or two trifling undertakings besides Dryden ... hardly worth mentioning." This must refer to Original Memoirs written during the Great Civil War, being the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby and Memoirs of Captain Hodgson, with Notes, etc; published in 1806 by Archibald Constable. Scott was the editor, acting without fee or reward.⁴ The little volume also contains 'Relations of the campaign of Oliver Cromwell in Scotland, 1650.' Scott's name is not given.

When the book appeared, Sir Thomas Slingsby of Scriven wrote to Constable objecting to the publication; Constable replied, offering to hold up the sale until Sir Thomas should inspect and approve the book. He explained that the MSS. for Slingsby and Hodgson had been given him for publication by Joseph Ritson, and that upon Ritson's

1. Sir Tristrem, 48-9, 67.

2. Op. cit., 187.

3. Letters, I, 308.

4. Lockhart, I, 462.

death "an eminent literary gentleman" had been called in for the editorial work. Scott then wrote himself, and Sir Thomas Slingsby withdrew his objection in a letter worthy of Sir Thomas Bertram: "In the form in which these Memoirs appear in your work I can have no possible objection to their publication, on the contrary, from whatever source the information concerning them (and which as far as I have yet had time to compare with the MS. in my possession seems perfectly correct) has been obtained, I rather congratulate myself that it has fallen ^{into} ~~with~~ the hands of Persons so judicious and so respectable."¹

Sir Henry Slingsby was the well-known royalist, executed by the Commonwealth government. His memoirs are considered to have value as an account of the life of a country gentleman of the period, and as providing some interesting information about the Civil War in the north of England. Scott's preface is short and his annotations light.

It is just possible that Sir Thomas may have been either flattered or a trifle overawed to find his ancestor's memoir being edited by the poet who had just (in 1805) scored a brilliant success with The Lay of the Last Minstrel; there may also have been a little suppressed resentment. At any rate, in 1836, shortly after Scott's death, the memoirs were re-edited from the original MS. by one

1. Letters, I, 325-6.

Daniel Parsons, as The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby of Scriven, Bart. In his preface¹ he attacks the 1806 edition (without naming Scott) as a series of extracts made without fairness or judgement, and without any indication of source. From this complete edition, it appears that Scott's extracts amounted to about a third of the whole. It is difficult to see much point in Parsons' criticism of the selection, but in any case it seems most probable that the selection had been made either by Ritson or by the original transcriber of his mysterious MS.

In the 1806 publication, Slingsby the Cavalier is followed by Hodgson the Roundhead, with a short account of Hodgson by Joseph Ritson. In this case it seems we are dealing with the original MS., not a transcription. (The MS. still exists, at Abbotsford). Captain Hodgson, like Slingsby, was a Yorkshireman, so that in every way his memoirs make the ideal foil to Slingsby's. He made the campaign of 1650 in Scotland, thus providing a link with the last section of Scott's little book. Hodgson's remark that "Oliver loved an innocent jest" (p.130), became quite a favourite with Scott. - The annotations are again fairly light.

This text was re-published in 1882 by a Mr. Turner, under the title Autobiography of Captain John Hodgson, with additional notes.

1. P.xxi.

By that time, according to Turner, Scott's edition was very scarce. The new editor seems to have been a Yorkshireman; his added notes have a local, family, and domestic character, not attempting to follow the Captain into Scotland. Apparently the 1806 text was used, and there are no criticisms of Scott.

The 'Relations of the Campaign of Oliver Cromwell in Scotland, 1650' consist of a series of tracts of the news-sheet kind, published in London at the time of the campaign, and giving a contemporary running commentary on that deplorable affair. According to Scott's Advertisement, the tracts were from the collection of Thomas Thomson. There are no notes.

This modest and useful publication did not fail to leave some mark. Thomas Carlyle used Hodgson in his Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with the customary gratitude of those who utilise their predecessors' labours, calling it "a dull authentic book, left full of blunders, of darkness natural and adscititious by the Editor."¹ Carlyle is referring, no doubt, to the tone of Scott's notes, which is royalist though fair. He does not name Scott, and may have forgotten who the editor was, in spite of having read and reviewed Lockhart's Life; on the otherhand he may have forgotten nothing; he was prejudiced against Scott socially and politically, and might

1. Ed. 1904, I, 326.

enjoy an oblique stab at a bête noire. Carlyle certainly had no high opinion of Hodgson himself, calling him, more than once, "pudding-headed", in a supercilious manner quite remote from Scott's way of thinking. He also visualises the Captain riding at the head of his troop in Cromwell's army, in a way which suggests another contrast with Scott, who does this sort of thing in his novels but not in his history.

Scott's great edition of The Works of John Dryden, in 18 vols (1808, reprinted 1821), comes into the same category as the Minstrelsy, being primarily a literary undertaking, but also of interest to historians on account of the voluminous historical introductions and notes. Vol. I is a Life of Dryden; but the most interesting part of the work is vol. IX and vol. X, in which Dryden's political poems are presented in a welter of historical commentary, displaying a knowledge of the controversies, periodicals, tracts, and ephemera of all sorts connected with the reign of Charles II, which can only be described as virtuosic. Sir Walter, who was not given to attaching much value to his own work, was for once impressed by himself; he refers several times¹ in his letters to the hard labour involved in illustrating Dryden, and quotes the witty couplet:

1. Letters, I, 317-8; Letters, I, 353; Letters, XII, 278-80; Also Lockhart, I, 466.

"From my research the boldest spiders fled,
And moths retreating trembled as I read."

The work seems to have been spread over nearly three years, from 1805-1808; but such statements are not very revealing in the case of Scott, as he was normally engaged on several tasks at once. During the period in question, he wrote Marmion, attended to his duties as Sheriff and Clerk of Session, wrote several reviews and a great many letters, and led his customary full social life; these deductions from three poor little short years do not leave much time for a scholarly edition in 18 vols. Against this must be placed Scott's abnormal capacity, the fact that long stretches of the work seemed to call for only very light annotation, and the fact that he left textual work to others.

Later editors of Dryden seem to concur in praising Scott's notes and condemning his textual editing. W.D. Christie, in the "Globe" Edition of Dryden's Poetical Works, does so;¹ George Saintsbury, re-editing part of Scott's edition in 1882 (Life and Plays only), called the 1808 edition "one of the best-edited books on a great scale in English, save in one particular - the revision of the text."² James Kinsley, editing the poems in 1958, says of his own commentary "I owe most to Sir Walter Scott, still the wisest and most richly-

1. Ed. 1870, Preface, xiii.

2. Preface, v.

endowed of Dryden's annotators."¹ This last tribute is valuable as coming from a contemporary scholar and Dryden specialist; it shows, too, that even in the worst of periods there may always be some who are capable of responding to the quality of Scott's mind.

Innes' Memoir of Thomas Thomson² affords a glimpse into the processes by which Dryden's text was established in 1808. A friend of Francis Horner, Elmsley, had visited the office of Scott's printer, James Ballantyne, and found him printing the plays "from a common octavo copy, so incorrect that he was forced (he, the printer) to make conjectual emendations of his own." Horner appealed to Thomson to use his influence in defence of that purity of text which he knew Thomson had at heart. In his reply, Thomson defended Scott; and no doubt these criticisms were somewhat sharpened by party differences between Whig and Tory; yet there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the textual editing fell below the best standards of the time. According to Andrew Lang, the proof-sheets of Redgauntlet reveal that James Ballantyne did not know the meaning of the word "pendant."³

Still, the last word on Scott's Dryden should be, that the immense achievement of a complete Dryden has not yet been repeated.

1. Poems of John Dryden, 1958, Preface, viii.

2. P.73.

3. Redgauntlet, Border Ed. (1894), Lang's Introduction, xiv.

The Memoirs of Captain George Carlton, an English officer, etc, were published in 1728, and have been popular ever since for their lively account of the Spanish campaigns in Queen Anne's time. There were other editions in 1741 and 1743 before Scott published one in 1808, without his name. He provides practically no apparatus; the preface is very pro-Peterborough, and he expresses no doubt about the authenticity. The theory that Defoe wrote the book had gained currency by the time Lockhart wrote his Life;¹ but a modern editor, Cyril Hartmann (1929), has reverted to the older view, and has thought Scott's little preface worth reprinting in his own edition. As usual, Scott's editing has been found open to attack, this time by A. Parnell.²

In the same year, 1808, Scott published, again anonymously, Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, written by himself, and in the same little volume, "Fragmenta Regalia, being a history of Queen Elizabeth's favourites, by Sir Robert Naunton, with explanatory annotations."

This Cary was, the ^{person} prson who brought to James VI the news of Queen Elizabeth's death, completing the journey on horse-back in three days. He had held posts on the Border, including that of march Warden,

1. Lockhart, II, 11.

2. English Historical Review, Vol. 6, Jan. 1891, p.104.

so that his memoirs are of interest in Scottish history. They were first published in 1759, by the Earl of Gork and Orrery, but by 1808 this edition, according to Scott's "Advertisement," was very scarce. A writer in "Notes and Queries"¹ has pointed out that the original editor published two further editions in 1759, one in London and one in Dublin, containing corrections and additions ignored in Scott's reprint, which obviously follows the first edition exclusively. Much of Scott's light annotation is about Border affairs, and is therefore very reminiscent of the Minstrelsy and the Lay.

Naunton's Fragmenta, a standard little work, was first published in 1641, and frequently reprinted, by itself or in collections like the Somers Tracts of 1748. In the 1808 edition, Scott annotated the work liberally. He himself reprinted the Fragmenta a year later in his edition of Somers, and three other editions appeared after that, of which only one throws any light on Scott. An anonymous editor in 1824, whose publisher was Charles Baldwin, maintained that all earlier editions offered a text "so corrupt as frequently to render the understanding of it difficult, and the reading of it unpleasant"; he himself, he said, had consulted MSS. in the British Museum, in order to present a satisfactory text. The condemnation of predecessors goes rather too far, as it has a habit of doing; but it is unnecessary to

1. 4th Series, XII, July 5th, 1873, p.5.

suppose that Scott, who names no source for his text, had done any more than hand the printer a copy of a previous edition. His strength lies, as usual, in the background knowledge displayed in the notes.

In 1748 there appeared in 16 volumes one of our major collections of historical pamphlets: A collection of scarce and valuable tracts ... selected from ... libraries, particularly that of the late Lord Sommers. The tracts were said to be "revised by eminent hands", and accordingly they betray here and there the presence of an editor, in an occasional introduction or explanatory note. Such can be found in vol. I., and also in the last four volumes, but otherwise the reader may be said to wallow without guidance in a morass of material on politics, religion, war, economics, and administration, covering the period from Elizabeth (although there are a few earlier tracts) to the reign of George I. There is virtually no system of arrangement; it is as though the tracts had been sent to press as they were taken off the library shelf; although in one or two of the volumes a certain chronological drift may be perceptible to close observers. There is an index for the first eight volumes, but not for the remainder. Valuable as the pioneer work of collection and publication must be esteemed, there is no doubt that much of the utility of the first edition was lost through bad editing.

The second edition was edited by Walter Scott, and published between 1809 and 1815. This undertaking was proposed by William Miller, the publisher of Dryden, in a letter of 8th April 1808,¹ and accepted in a light-hearted manner by Scott, as a relaxation after Marmion.² We find Scott telling a correspondent that editing Swift was his only task of importance at the moment,³ and explaining how easy the Somers and Sadler jobs would be.

Like Sir Thomas Slingsby, the contemporary Lord Somers was a little annoyed at not being consulted, and wrote about it; Scott's reply fully explains his intentions. "The 16 volumes of Lord Somers' Tracts are to be compressed in twelve quarto volumes. The arrangement is to be methodised in the following manner. All the tracts are to be divided according to the reigns in which they were published. Then if each reign will admit of sub-division, into four classes, historical, political, polemical, and miscellaneous. In each of these sub-divisions the treatises will be arranged with reference to their respective subject, placing those together which refer to the same point of controversy and observing in other respects a chronological order. It is my desire to give upon the introduction of every new subject such a concise view of the point at issue as

1. Letters, II, 45.

2. Letters, II, 94 (to Lady Abercorn, not Miller!)

3. Letters, II, 93.

may save an ordinary reader the trouble of referring to other works for the information necessary to understand the Tract he is about to enter upon. And I have made a considerable collection of other notes of miscellaneous nature, some for the sake of criticism, others with a view to elucidation. With respect to the memoir of Lord Somers' life, it was my intention to prefix it to two volumes of additional tracts ... ¹ Scott told Miller that he intended to pillage other collections, ² such as Phoenix Britannicus and the Antiquarian Repertory, though not the Harleian, and to carry the collection forward to 1745. ³ In his Preface (Vol. I, p. iv) Scott announced that the first edition was to be reproduced complete, because "it may seem rash to pass a hasty sentence of exclusion even upon the dullest and most despised of the essays"; and went on to express the hope that his being a popular poet "will not be objected to him as a personal disqualification for his present task."

This plan was duly carried out, with one or two changes. Miller retired in 1812, to be succeeded as publisher of the Tracts by John Murray. The memoir of Lord Somers did not appear. The tracts are classified as political, ⁴ ecclesiastical, military, and miscellaneous.

1. Letters, II, 78.

2. Letters, II, 112.

3. Letters, II, 178.

4. Sometimes "historical", sometimes "civil."



Some of those in the first edition were after all dropped in the second, probably through inadvertence, as they are nearly all very short ones. (see our Appendix II for details). The collection was not carried on to 1745, and the extra two volumes were not added; but many tracts of earlier period were added to the first eight volumes of the new edition, so that the publication, when complete, amounted not to 14 volumes as proposed, but to 13, whereof the last was considerably larger than the others - 896 pp. instead of a little over 600 - and the second-last longer than the average by about 100 pages. These facts are worth comparing with the following confused statement by Scott, written after Miller's retirement:

"As to Somers - the proposal was to republish the original 16 volumes in twelve volumes and I have made my arrangements accordingly. But it was also intended that there should be two additional volumes but I never could get Miller to say whether these two volumes were to go on or no, nor do I believe any collection has been made for them."¹

He ignores the fact that his additions have already swelled the collection by about a volume and a half. This is an example of that habitual carelessness in the statement of detail which is undoubtedly Scott's major technical fault.

1. Letters, III, 331 [1813, according to Grierson].

The reader will not now expect to be told about the high professional standard of Scott's editing. The list of contents at the beginning of each volume is not to be trusted. For example, the tracts added by Scott are said to be marked by an asterisk; but some of the tracts so marked are present in the first edition all the time, whereas others not so marked are not to be found in the first edition. These matters are explained in detail in our Appendices ~~II~~ ~~III~~, ~~IV~~ and ~~V~~ - The notes in Scott's edition are of three classes: original notes, given by the original authors of the tracts; notes added in 1748; and notes added by Scott. In general, these classes are reasonably faithfully distinguished. But, scanty as the 1748 notes are, they are sometimes omitted. Sometimes they are replaced by new and better ones, as when a bitter passage on Monmouth's execution (1748 ed., I, 216) is replaced by a kinder one (Scott's ed. IX, 260). On occasion, Scott uses a 1748 note and adds matter of his own without indication.¹ In at least one case, Scott carries on from his predecessor in mid-sentence, without telling us what he is doing.² Incongruities in English style might be expected to warn an attentive reader about this; but the style of short passages can be surprisingly ambiguous. Other examples of editorial impropriety

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1. e.g. 1748 ed., I, 111: Scott's ed., VIII, 218; ^{1748,} I, 205; ~~Scott's ed., VIII, 19~~
 2. Cf. 1748 ed. I, 205, and Scott's ed., VIII, 19. Also 1748, XIII, 186 and Scott, I, 477.

might be given; yet considering the huge bulk of the edition, it might be reasonably maintained that Scott had respectable assistance with his chores. - In only one case does he claim an improvement in the text; 'Divers remarkable passages of the ladies at Spring-garden' (1748, Vol. XIII, 337) is extended by Scott from an MS. copy in his possession (Scott's ed. V, 472).

The most outstanding merit of this major work, as in the case of Dryden, lies in the annotation, which is voluminous, entertaining, wise and well-informed. While the qualities of Scott's historical writing are left for discussion in a later section, it may be appropriate to assert at this point that no-one has ever equalled Sir Walter Scott as an annotator; not even Samuel Johnson in his edition of Shakespeare. If Samuel Johnson's "dryasdust" learning had been anything like Scott's, he would have been the supreme Shakespearean of all time. Both Johnson and Scott exhibit the rare spectacle of a first-rate mind not disdaining the task of commentary on other men's work. The difference is that while Johnson impresses by his massive intelligence and common sense, Scott impresses by his massive humanity. In each case, the aesthetic merit of the writing persists, and can survive even technical exposure.

Persons wading through the ocean of Somers cannot fail to notice

a certain flagging in the editor after about volume VIII. The annotation becomes less abundant, and a tendency to fill in with passages from standard historians like Burnet or Hume becomes more noticeable. Only one new tract seems to have been added after volume VIII. It is natural to suppose that Scott was wearying of his task, considering its remorseless bulk; and one could quote his remark to Lady Abercorn in 1811 that he looked upon the "unremitting and irksome labours" of editorial work as rather beneath him.¹ This remark, however, is rather puzzling; Scott's editorial writing, like his poetry and fiction and letters, gives the impression of being the genial outpouring of a man thoroughly enjoying himself. He may have felt the influence of snobbery when addressing a member of the aristocracy; perhaps he was increasingly attracted by the prospect of making more money by imaginative work. The transfer of Miller's publishing business in 1812 to John Murray may well be important. In March 1812 Scott was expecting delivery of some copies of Somers Vol. VII;² in July 1812 he was asking if Murray meant to carry on the Somers publication now that Miller had retired: "The present volume of Somers will be out immediately."³ This would seem to refer to vol. VIII, and suggests the possibility that Murray was not very

1. Letters, II, 436.

2. Letters, III, 95.

3. Letters, III, 136.

enthusiastic about Somers, thus damping the editor's zeal. There is so little reference in Scott's correspondence to the Somers undertaking that Lockhart seems to have thought it was finished by 1812.¹ - Be all this as it may, there is an undoubted falling away in Vols IX-XIII, although even these still throw the first edition quite in the shade.

A work which took from 1808² - 1815 to complete, might be said to have had a competent time spent on it; but this ignores the trifling circumstance that Scott during these years was working on Sadler, the Secret History, Swift, and perhaps Somerville, besides writing The Lady of the Lake, Rokeby, Waverley, and perhaps The Lord of the Isles. It may be accepted as a general rule that Scott spent much less time on his editorial work than a modern scholar, or his own more advanced contemporaries, would think proper. Against this, it may again be pointed out that he finished several mammoth undertakings - Dryden, Somers, Swift - which have never been done again.³

Sir Ralph Sadler is well known as an English diplomat specialising in Scottish affairs, in the service of Henry VIII and his children.

1. Lockhart, II, 87.

2. Letters, II, 44.

3. But in our own time Dryden and Swift are both under way in new complete editions.

In 1720 there had been published at Edinburgh Letters and Negotiations of Sir Ralph Sadler, relating to the important English embassies to Scotland of 1540 and 1543. There came, in 1809, The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, Knight-Banneret, Edited by Arthur Clifford, Esq., in two volumes, To which is added a Memoir of the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler, with historical notes, by Walter Scott, Esq. These handsome and bulky quartos¹ reprint the material published in 1720, from a transcript in the Advocates' Library, the originals (according to Clifford's Advertisement) being lost. There follows a mass of previously unpublished papers, printed from copies said to have been accurately compared with the originals in the library of Thomas Clifford, Esq., of Tixall. This new matter covers such important topics as Somerset's Expedition, the war of the Scottish Reformation, the Rising in the North, and the imprisonment of Mary Stewart. There is also an appendix devoted largely to personal and family papers. Scott's notes are abundant and informative as usual, quoting a wide variety of sources. Naturally enough, they covered ground which he had already traversed in the Minstrelsy, so that he regarded the work as a by-job.² Officially at any rate, the sins of the text cannot be laid at Scott's door, although it seems likely that he helped Clifford

1. There was also a very limited edition in three magnificent volumes, also in 1809.

2. Letters, I, 364-6; Letters, II, 93.

with his department of the subject. There is a letter from Scott to [Henry] Ellis, dated October 5, 1807, asking for transcripts of some Sadler documents held in the British Museum,¹ which suggests the possibility that Scott took more general charge of the project than he admitted.

Apart from the giant editions, the Sadler Papers are obviously the most important of his historical undertakings, being concerned with the confidential papers of a leading diplomat in a critical period. We find them being cited shortly after publication by M^cCrie, and later by P. F. Tytler.

Some assistance with North of England matters was given by Robert Surtees, the historian of Durham;² and the letter in which Scott requested his assistance is worth reading as a specimen of our author's vagueness about details. He describes the 1720 volume as "published about the beginning or middle of the last century."³ The period of the Scottish Reformation, 1559-60, is given as 1549-50. This prepares the mind for criticism of the editing, which duly appears. Major F. Sadleir Stoney, Royal Artillery, published in 1877 A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Right Honourable Sir Ralph Sadleir.

1. Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1750, p.68 (Letters of Scott not published by Grierson).
2. Sadler Papers, II, 205, 207.
3. Letters, I, 364-5.

This gunner testifies that Sir Walter Scott's memoir of his ancestor, though charmingly written, is very brief and contains several errors. In his own account, however, though drawing on state papers published since Scott's day, he quotes freely from the 1809 work, both papers and memoir. - Edmund Lodge, who had already published some of the letters concerning Queen Mary,¹ censured the Clifford-Scott text when reviewing it for the Quarterly Review - and the editor thereof, William Gifford, sent the review to Scott to be revised before publication.²

The Secret History of the Court of James the First ... with Notes and Introductory Remarks appeared anonymously in 1811. It is a little collection in two volumes of gossipy tracts, thus forming a supplement to Somers. Apart from Francis Osborne's Historical Memoirs of the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, - a traditionary and inaccurate pamphlet,³ and A Perfect Description of the people and country of Scotland⁴ - an attack on the penurious hospitality of the Scots by an English member of James VI's entourage on his visit to Scotland in 1617, the collection consists of

1. Letters, I, 365.

2. Wilfred Partington, Sir Walter's Post-bag. (1932), p.60.

3. 1658.

4. 1659; but see below.

two royalist pamphlets, balancing two anti-royalist productions. The anti-royalists are Sir Anthony Weldon's The Court and character of King James, whereunto is added the Court of King Charles ...;¹ and Sir Edward Peyton's Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stuarts;² the royalists are William Sanderson's Aulicus Coquinariae,³ and The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwell, a Restoration satire⁴ upon the allegedly niggardly management of the Protector's Household and Court. The moral of this last, says Scott, is that "the common people delight in the profusion of their rulers."⁵

Individual pieces in this collection have since been republished by other editors, but only one later edition has anything of interest to Scott students. The Abbotsford Club Miscellany of 1837 reprints the Peffect Description, with the statement that the 1659 edition used by Scott and commonly regarded as the first, was actually preceded by two editions, both very scarce, dated 1647 and 1649; and that a MS. copy of the pamphlet had been detected among the Balfour MSS. in the Advocates' Library, together with an answer. Apparently Scott had no knowledge of the MS. or of the early editions.

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1. 1650.
 2. 1652.
 3. 1650.
 4. 1664.
 5. Secret History, II, 470.

All the material in the Secret History had, naturally, been in print before, and some of it had been frequently reprinted; so that the collection can hardly be described as a very valuable addition to the public stock of printed source material, especially when the textual editing displays, as usual, no special virtue.

Still, nothing could be more typical of Sir Walter Scott than this little work. The balancing of royalist against republican displays his fairness and tolerance. The fact that not one of these documents can be regarded as factually reliable is also characteristic; Scott knew perfectly well that they rank low in this regard, but he values them as expressions of party prejudice - evidence for what people thought, and how they felt.¹ Again, he values them because they contain many curious things not to be found in the work of the professed historian or the memoirs of individuals;² he is looking at them from the point of 'view of the romancer seeking material.

Finally, there is the usual abundance of annotation, which Scott found easy after his work on the earlier volumes of Somers.³ He worked on it during the years 1809-11, but as usual it is not possible to estimate accurately the amount of time spent on it.

1. Secret Hist., II, 307.

2. Ibid., Advertisement.

3. Letters, II, 168.

During these fantastically active years 1808-14 Scott was working on another giant project - The Works of Jonathan Swift, in 19 volumes, including a Life, introductions, and notes on the same heroic scale as Dryden ^{and} Somers. While many of the pieces were already in print, in some cases in several editions, much of Scott's edition was new, including the Vanessa correspondence. A "Second Edition" appeared in 1824, which seems to be little more than a re-issue of the first, with some small additions, and a re-arrangement of the contents.

The Swift, like the Dryden, is primarily a literary work, with strong historical undertones; Dryden's satires in verse on Restoration politics and personalities are paralleled by Swift's satires in verse and prose on British and Irish politics under Queen Anne and George I. The difference is that the Swift is not quite so good. The frenzy of commentary and quotation nowhere reaches the heights attained in the great 9th and 10th volumes of Dryden. Although Scott often threatened to go to Ireland to do research for the edition, he never went, and thus depended, for Irish material, entirely on the communications of several zealous correspondents there, such as Edward Berwick and M.W. Hartstonge, whose assistance may be traced in the Grierson edition of Scott's letters. It is perhaps in consequence of this that a modern editor of Swift, Herbert Davis, while conceding that on the subject of the Drapier's Letters "Scott collected a good

deal of valuable material",¹ adds that "by far the most important & valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Drapier was made by Monck Mason."

William Monck Mason brought out in 1820 The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, a large part of which is devoted to the life and times of the great Dean. Scott's edition, and particularly his Memoir, are mentioned on almost every page, frequently with approval, and frequently with censure. On the subject of collation, he remarks sarcastically(?) that while "sublime genius" cannot be expected to undertake such a "slavish" task, Scott might at least have engaged some humble assistance;² Mason goes on to point out an error in the commentary on Gulliver which collation with earlier editions would have spared. The critical world in all its spheres seems to be unanimous in its condemnation of Scott's textual work. Complaint is also made by Mason about Scott's disregard of the rules of evidence, and his taste for unauthenticated traditional testimony.³ There is absolutely no doubt that Scott could be careless about the quality of his evidence, as will be shown later; and yet Mason's criticisms are somehow not very impressive. In the matter of the supposed marriage of Swift and Stella, for example,

1. Drapier's Letters, ed. H. Davis, 1935, Preface.

2. Mason, Op. cit., p.356.

3. Ibid., p.372.

Mason's evidence seems to be just as traditional as Scott's; he is entitled to believe his own tradition more reliable than Scott's, but clearly all discussion of this dark question takes place on delicate ground, where charges of coarse disregard for evidence are out of place. (Scott quoted Mason's views in a later edition of his *Memoir of Swift*.¹) Again, many of Mason's criticisms turn less on questions of fact than of interpretation. He maintains against Scott with some heat that Swift's notorious lavatory verses were written by way of propaganda for personal hygiene;² one does not need to be a Swift specialist to see that Scott was right in regarding these verses as a symptom of something wrong in the writer's mind.³ Mason, in fact, was an idolater; he actually accuses Scott of derogating from Swift's credit in his introductions, and thus of condemning him before trial.⁴ Anyone can see at a glance that this is nonsense, and that, however superior Mason's information may be in accuracy and extent, Scott's general sanity and good judgement put him in a much higher class. In fact, these qualities in Scott are best brought out by a reading of his critics.

Even in matters of detail, however, Scott's edition has been found valuable by later editors. A. C. Guthkelch and D. Nichol Smith,

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1. *Swift Memoir*, 210.
 2. *Mason, Op. cit.*, p.383.
 3. *Swift Memoir*, 343.
 4. *Mason, Op. cit.*, 246.

editing the Tale of a Tub (1920, 1958), refer frequently to Scott's notes. In 1948, Harold Williams, writing a preface for the Journal to Stella, records that Scott "very considerably amplified and added to the annotation of the Journal" (p.111). Such things indicate the standing of the Scott edition, particularly where Irish affairs are not concerned.

No account of this work can omit some reference to Scott's relations with the publisher, Constable, during the period of its preparation. The proposed date of publication was 1810, and Scott's slow progress was ascribed by Constable's partner, Hunter, to Scott's habit of doing other work concurrently. There was a quarrel, made up before the Swift was finished, of which details are available in Lockhart's Life and the Letters.

In 1814, Scott contributed an abstract¹ of the Eyrbiggia Saga to the Illustrations of Northern Antiquities (ed. Robert Jamieson and Henry Weber). As this saga hovers on the border-land between history and legend, it may perhaps be safely passed by with a bare allusion. There are some notes.

James, 11th Lord Somerville, a Scottish noble of the later 17th Century, left a prolix MS. history of his family, which was

1. Miscellaneous & Prose Works, V, 357.

entrusted for publication by his successor, the 15th Lord Somerville, to Walter Scott, a friend and neighbour on the Tweed. It appeared in 1815 as Memorie of the Somervilles, in two volumes, with a short preface, and the usual quant. suff. of notes. In the preface, Scott admitted the prolixity, inaccuracy, and unreliability of this family chronicle, but claimed that it was valuable as evidence for the manners of former times. Inaccurate in one sense, the book is very accurate in another, in being, as Scott says, a genuine and original specimen of the thoughts and feelings of a Scottish baron of the 17th Century. Here is another clear indication of the nature of Scott's historical interests. The moral utility of his tory receives tribute when Scott says that to read about the rise and fall of a family is to be impressed with "a wholesome sense of the vicissitudes of human affairs."

The study of the book had a noticeable consequence for Scott's own writing, but otherwise the publication does not seem to have made much mark, handicapped no doubt by its local character and by the verbosity of the style. However, Somerville's assertion that the ancestors of the Stewarts of Allanton had sat beneath the salt at his table provoked Sir Henry Stewart of that ilk (an afforestation enthusiast) to write a Vindication, which started a correspondence in

Blackwood's Magazine.¹

A similar though very much slighter document was printed privately in 1820: Memorials of the Haliburtons, Lairds of Newmains, from whom Scott derived, through his paternal grandmother, Barbara Haliburton, the right of sepulture in Dryburgh Abbey. The work is a family register, kept from about 1650 till 1766, but it also preserves some older traditions, such as the death of a Haliburton at Poitiers. The mention of a Haliburton as a tenant of Dryburgh Abbey in the early 16th Century may have some bearing on The Monastery, also published in 1820, a novel all about the tenants of Melrose Abbey. There are a few extracts from the Kelso and Dryburgh cartularies, and part of a letter written by Scott's father about the Haliburton genealogy. Scott's notes are very few in this case, even considering that the book is only 63 pages long. There was another small printing in 1824, and yet another in 1877 by the Grampian Club.

Richard Franck was a keen 17th Century angler, sharing Walton's zeal without his literary merit; he wrote a book called Northern Memoirs, calculated for the Meridian of Scotland ... Writ in the year 1658, published in 1694, and republished 1821 with anonymous editorial notes by Scott. This fishing excursion seems to have interested

1. Letters, IV, 488, 508.

John Richardson, Scott's London lawyer and a zealous angler, for there is a copy of Scott's edition in the Edinburgh Public Library with the inscription "This was edited by Sir Walter Scott from the original copy which I lent him for that purpose. J.R." Scott's notes are few, and the book is little more than a curiosity for historians, however it may be regarded by anglers.

John Lauder of Fountainhall was a Scottish lawyer and judge (Lord Fountainhall) who flourished under Charles II and his successors. He compiled in the course of his career a very bulky MS., preserving valuable information about the events of his time in the legal and political world. Although some of this material was lost, the bulk of it was ultimately acquired by the Advocates' Library. In 1759, extracts of predominantly legal interest were published in two large folio volumes, since well-known as Fountainhall's Decisions; but a great deal of material of more general interest remained in MS., although known to and used by at least one major historian, Malcolm Laing.

About 1814, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, a descendant of the old judge, became ambitious of publishing some more of the MS., and received cordial encouragement from Scott.¹ - About 1817, Charles K. Sharpe

1. Letters, IV, 33; IV, 239.

acquired somehow of a series of extracts from Fountainhall made by the old Jacobite lawyer and MS. collector, Robert Mylne, about 1727 or 1729, and persuaded Constable the publisher in 1819 to offer him £50 to edit the document.¹ Constable's offer was made with reluctance, partly, no doubt, because he knew the MS. was only a copy by Mylne, and therefore might not be authentic. Scott heard about the project, and expressed interest in it, having apparently forgotten all about Sir Thomas Dick Lauder.² Constable's suspicions were justified: Mylne had in fact altered his original in many places.

There is a gap in the record here, until in 1822 we find the edition coming out with the title Chronological notes of Scottish Affairs, 1680-1701, edited with notes by Sir Walter Scott. Why Sharpe retired is not evident. Scott's introduction, dated from Abbotsford, shows quite clearly that he knew nothing about the text he was supposed to be editing. He writes as if the Chronological Notes constituted a separate journal, complete in itself, whereas the work was only a series of extracts from the Fountainhall MSS. He writes as if the document he was editing were couched in Fountainhall's own hand, with interpolations and erasures by Robert Mylne; whereas it was written wholly by the hand of Mylne, as Constable already knew. Scott knew that Mylne's additions were Jacobitical in tone, and quite out of

1. Letters to and from C.K. Sharpe (1888), II, 194, 198.

2. Letters, V, 334.

keeping with Fountainhall's own views, but confessed his inability to purify the text. It looks as if Scott had not seen the Mylne transcript itself; for if he had, he could not have mistaken it for a Fountainhall original with additions in another hand. Perhaps, then, what he saw was a copy of Mylne's copy made by some unknown hand for the use of the press. Shortly after Chronological Notes came out, Constable said of it in a letter to Scott¹ "I wish my ancient friend Elshender could have copied it a little more correctly." If Constable is here laying the blame on the transcriber of a press copy of Mylne's transcript, he must have forgotten that Mylne himself was suspect as a copyist. There is no reason, however, why Constable should not display forgetfulness in this matter as well as Scott, since the little publication of a hundred copies² could bring in little profit, and must have been regarded as a trifling "by-job" by both Scott and Constable.

At any rate, the outrageous publication appeared,³ and Sir Thomas Dick Lauder was furious, firstly with the garbled text of his ancestor's work, and secondly because Scott had forgotten or ignored his own project. When he wrote a long and verbose protest to Scott, the great man could only make shuffling excuses.⁴ Doubtless by way

1. Archd. Constable and his Literary Correspondents, III, 225.

2. Letters, VII, 174.

3. Dated from Abbotsford, though Scott's name is not given.

4. Letters, VII, 174.

of amende honorable, Scott promoted a scheme to publish Fountainhall in faithful, copious extracts, under the editorship of Sir Thomas; but this was stopped by Constable's bankruptcy in 1826.¹ At length the Bannatyne Club issued four volumes - two of Historical Observes in 1840 and two of Historical Notices in 1848. The 1848 volumes contain a reprint of Scott's 1822 preface, and also a preface by David Laing, in which he outlined the story of Scott's edition, and suggested that Scott had been attracted less by Fountainhall than by the Jacobitical interpolations of Mylne. (We have here, perhaps, another indication that the professional scholars did not really think much of Scott as historian, although they guarded their tongues in public.) Laing adds a list of the most important of Mylne's additions, which were easily separable from the original by collation, provided the editor knew the facts of the case. The sad thing is that no-one in 1822 seems to have thought of examining the original papers of Fountainhall, which lay under their noses all the time, undisturbed by either Scott, Constable, or "Elshender." Although some of the details of the episode are uncertain, it does undoubtedly show what can happen when transcription and collation are left to inferior hands.

1. Letters, VIII, 19, 35, 131.

John Gwynne, a royalist officer in the Civil Wars, who had campaigned with Montrose in 1650 and Glencairn in 1653, left a MS. account of his career, drawn up probably by way of supporting his claim for compensation and reward after the Restoration. This MS. was presented to Sir Walter Scott by the Rev. John Grahame of Lifford in Ireland, and published with a brief introduction (dated from Abbotsford), and a few notes, in 1822. To Gwynne's Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War Scott added in the same volume "An Account of the Earl of Glencairn's Expedition as General of His Majesty's Forces in the Highlands of Scotland in the years 1653 and 1654, by a person who was eye and ear witness to every transaction." Scott printed this document (previously published as a tract), from the MS. owned by his friend Sir Alexander Don, ascribing the authorship to John Graham of Duchrie. Finally, Scott appended a number of extracts from Mercurius Politicus, giving another contemporary account of the Glencairn affair. The whole book is reminiscent of the early Slingsby-Hodgson type of publication - unpretentious, but interesting and useful. In the introduction, Scott expresses a characteristic wish to preserve any personal narrative, even one which furnishes no fresh information. Gwynne's solicitations at court were apparently unsuccessful, and he may have suggested the disappointed Cavaliers, Sir Geoffrey Peveril and Major Coleby, in Peveril of the Peak, a novel written in the same year 1822.

In 1828 Scott presented to the Roxburghe Club in London an edition of a tract, Proceedings in the Court Martial held upon John, Master of Sinclair, dealing with a typical episode in the life of that shrewd, sarcastic, opinionated and aggressive person. Scott adds a brief account of his career, Much more interesting, however, are the same John Sinclair's Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715, a work which may have had a more widely-diffused influence on the Waverley novels than any other single historical work. A copy of Sinclair's MS. had been read and annotated by Scott in his earlier life, but owing to difficulties with Sinclair's family it was not published till after Scott's death, being brought out in 1858 as a volume of the Abbotsford Club, complete with Scott's notes. Sinclair gives a great deal of information not to be had elsewhere; but Scott must have been attracted chiefly by the remarkable character of the man, which colours every page he wrote.

Memoirs, pamphlets, soldiers, Jacobites, family history, literary classics - these are the subjects of Scott's editorial work. His output is characteristic of a literary man, and is the natural preparation for and complement to his work as poet and novelist. Official records, cartularies, collation, transcription - these dry-as-dust matters are avoided. His pioneer publications of historical MSS. are confined to material of secondary importance, if we remember that the Sadler Papers

were prepared by another hand, and write off Fountainhall as a bad business. Although accustomed to reading MS. material, he was extremely averse to copying it, and once described the task as "odious and fatiguing."¹ He will not ask a friend to make a copy of a song he wants, but to find someone else to do so.² He speaks of "the necessity of diligently comparing each sheet of Sadler's Letters with the original (though, thank God, that labour I have no concern with").³ Even his beloved Froissart could not tempt him.⁴ There has been a difference of opinion about Scott's chief assistant, Henry Weber; Scott himself thought highly of him, whereas Lockhart did not. Perhaps it is asking too much to expect conscientious performance from people who know that their work consists of that which their employers want to avoid themselves, and which is therefore unlikely to be checked. The average practice of the period was no doubt primitive enough, but we must not exaggerate; Scott had an excellent example beside him in Thomson, and the remarks of Horner and Monck Mason already referred to suggest that the best standards of the time were high. - Yet when all this has been said, the fact remains that the sheer bulk, variety, knowledgeableness and literary merit of Scott's work in this, as in the other fields he cultivated, must always give it considerable importance.

1. Letters, II, 37.

2. Letters, I, 358.

3. Letters, II, 20.

4. Letters, II, 169.

The last point to notice about this editorial work is its strong English or British flavour. The Minstrelsy, Sir Tristrem, Somerville, and the extracts from Fountainhall are the only native Scottish works, although other authorities - Slingsby, Hodgson, Gwynne, Sadler - contain much matter on Scotland. Here is another indication of the importance of English and British history in Scott's background. In a Scottish novel, he could speak of "Puritans" and "Puritanism" as well as, more correctly, of "Covenanters."¹ Speaking of his desire to write a novel round the adventures of the Scottish Regalia, in the Cromwellian period, he said he was qualified for the work by his labours on the Somers Tracts.² The amount of specifically Scottish material in Somers is small, yet Somers was regarded by Scott as a valuable aid to the composition of a Scottish novel. These things help to illustrate the interdependence of Scottish and English history - one of that numerous class of commonplace propositions whose truth is always passively acknowledged, but seldom actively realised.

Other publications of source material came out in Scott's day to which he gave aid or countenance. Those of Charles K. Sharpe, though not the most important, were probably the most indebted to Scott. Nearly everyone who visits Abbotsford has some acquaintance with Sharpe,

1. Old Mortality, I, 55.

2. Letters, V, 56.

whose drawings of Queen Elizabeth dancing, and of "Meikle-mouthed Meg", were much admired by Scott and are still displayed. On the strength of this and similar work, Scott tried to obtain him the post of King's Limner when Raeburn died in 1823,¹ thereby displaying perhaps more friendly zeal than sense of proportion. The Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland, written by James Kirkton, a Covenanting divine, and covering the period 1660-1678, was edited from MS. by Sharpe in 1817, and reviewed by Scott in the Quarterly Review for January 1818.² Kirkton was supplemented by an account of the events of 1679 by James Russell, an actor therein and an extreme Left-wing Covenanter; also from MS. This book was followed in 1818 by the Memorials of Robert Law, a superstitious Covenanting minister, running from 1638-84. Law is much less valuable for general history than Kirkton, but is at least as important as an influence on Scott. Sharpe was a really waspish Tory, and his notes, though full of information, and free from the pedantry which so often mars such things, lose a great deal by their inveterately hostile and contemptuous tone. They are entertaining, though, and Sharpe might yet prove to be the Master of Sinclair of his age. It is obvious from the correspondence between Scott and Sharpe that Scott gave much help. It was he, for

1. Letters, VIII, 44.

2. Prose Works, XIX, 213.

example, who borrowed the Russell MS. from the Wodrow Papers in the Advocates' Library, and had it copied for Sharpe's use. According to Scott,¹ he had a struggle to get it, because Thomas M^cCrie, biographer of Knox and Keen Covenanter, had tried to hide it, as a document discreditable to his own party. - If this is true, M^cCrie's historical standing requires a certain amount of downward revision. Scott lent Sharpe other material, acknowledged by Sharpe in his letters; the Rev. W.K.R. Bedford, who wrote a memoir of Sharpe,² describes Scott as "adviser and accoucheur" for these publications. We have already seen that Scott took over Fountainhall's Chronological Notes from Sharpe. The traffic was not all one way; Sharpe had helped with the Minstrelsy many years before, and Scott was to consult him afterwards on points of family history and genealogy.

Scott claims³ to have "instigated" the proper re-editing of Barbour and Henry the Minstrel by Dr. John Jamieson, dissenting Presbyterian minister and compiler of the famous Scots dictionary. In 1818, Jamieson edited Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, and received two contributions from Scott for the purpose - Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle's MS. account of Donald the Hammerer, a piece of traditionary Highland history afterwards used by Scott;⁴ and extracts from a MS.

1. Letters, IV, 385.

2. See Letters to and from C.K. Sharpe, (1888).

3. Letters, III, 437.

4. Grandfather, Ch. 39.

written by Graham of Gartmore in 1747 on the causes of rebellion in the Highlands.

As Henry Weber was Scott's principal assistant from 1804 for about ten years, it may be relevant here to notice that Weber edited, and published in 1813, Sir Robert Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland, an early 17th Century MS. The Marchioness of Stafford (Countess of Sutherland in her own right), who was responsible for the undertaking in the first place, was a friend of Scott's and may well have engaged Weber through him. As early as 1809, Scott wrote to her acknowledging some "token of liberality" on Weber's behalf, which he thinks will stimulate him to exertion on behalf of "the work."¹ On publication, Scott welcomed the handsome folio for the insight it afforded into the manners of past times, and the hints for the picturesque which could be found in it by patient searchers.² (It is perhaps needless to remark that Scott was discreet about the Sutherland clearances).

Robert Pitcairn, long an assistant to Thomas Thomson at the Register House, was a generation behind Scott, and owed something to the encouragement of the senior antiquary; especially in the matter of his well-known Criminal Trials in Scotland, which undertaking he

1. Letters, II, 207.

2. Letters, III, 226.

said in his preface had been suggested to him by Scott. In addition, Scott undertook to use his influence on behalf of the work, and to enlist distinguished legal patronage.¹ Part of the work was reviewed by Scott in the Quarterly Review, February 1831, (although the publication was completed only after Scott's death, in 1833.) Scott told Pitcairn that he was trying to bring the Trials into his own current works - the "Lardner" History of Scotland and the Demonology - in order to advantage Pitcairn's work and draw some attention to it.²

James Maidment, another Scottish antiquary of the younger generation, had assistance from Scott with his Book of Scottish Pasquils, for which Scott lent him material³ - probably the satire ^{on} of Lord President Stair, mentioned in the Introduction to The Bride of Lammermoor. Maidment's work, like Scott's, had a decidedly literary flavour.

There was a lively correspondence between Scott and David Laing; but this raises the important question of the Bannatyne Club. This famous society, which printed so much source material for Scottish history, held its first "Dinner Meeting" in Barry's Hotel on 27th February 1823; there is no doubt that a key rôle in its foundation was played by Scott. The other prime movers were Laing, Pitcairn, Maidment, and

1. Letters, X, 248.

2. Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1752, p.73 (unpublished Scott letters).

3. Letters, XI, 232.

Constable, but it is obvious that they relied heavily on the influence of Scott's prestige, and deferred to him all along: "Sir Walter Scott's opinion should regulate everything" said Constable. When people were slow to join, "Sir Walter's great zeal overcame all difficulties, and it may be truly said it was to his exertions, almost exclusively, that the subsequent prosperity of the Club may be ascribed."¹ Details about the preliminary meetings at Scott's house, the reception of the scheme in the public press, and the fortunes of the Club's early years, were published in 1836 by Maidment in Notices Relevant to the Bannatyne Club. (In this book he reprints an attack on the Club in the New Scots Magazine, in which the writer asked, "What benefit is the public to derive from publishing old trash?" According to Maidment, this attack was prompted by the ill-temper of a rejected candidate for membership; but even so it may give some indication of the limitations on the enlightenment of Georgian Scotland.) The "Bannatyne" figures prominently in Scott's correspondence, especially in his letters to Pitcairn, Laing, and Maidment; and his enthusiasm finds expression in the Journal.² He was, as is well known, President of the Club from its foundation till his death, and when the Club was wound up in 1860, David Laing's presentation took the form of a silver vase surmounted by a statuette of the founder, Sir Walter Scott.³

1. Notices Relative to the Bannatyne Club, 1836, p.xiv. (Maidment's preface).

2. e.g., p.355.

3. Gilbert Goudie. David Laing (1913). p.91.

His own contributions were not of great importance. A short memoir of George Bannatyne (reprinted in Prose Works, Vol. 30) - a reprint of Auld Robin Gray (1825) - proceedings at The Trial of Duncan Terig, in which two witnesses swore to seeing the ghost of a murdered man (1831) - these are his only exclusive contributions. He also helped with the Book of the Houlat, as may be seen from his letters to David Laing;¹ and joined Laing in editing Vol. I of the Bannatyne Miscellany. Undoubtedly, the mainstays of the practical work of the Club were Laing and Thomson; Laing was secretary throughout the Club's life, and Thomson followed Scott as President. Cosmo Innes goes so far as to say that the Club became an auxiliary to the Records Commission;² and one may add that in doing so it lost much of the literary character implied in its title, for George Bannatyne was not a historian, but a collector of the older poetry of Scotland. There was no slackening in activity after Scott's death; in fact, after the first few years the publications become, on the average, decidedly "meatier." Students who consult the volumes will be aware that some of the earlier ones are much more slender than they look, on account of the number of blank leaves.

1. See Letters, Vol. 8.

2. Memoir of Thomas Thomson, 178.

As President, Scott must have had great influence in the choice of material for publication, and a glance along the shelf reveals a number of titles of special interest to Scott and significance for his work. These include the Claverhouse Letters (1826), Sir James Melville of Hallhill's Memoirs (an improved edition, 1827), Sir James Turner's Memoirs (1829), Pitcairn's Trials (1833), the Fountainhall volumes already discussed, and the Melrose Cartulary (1837). This last was presented by the 5th Duke of Buccleuch, and edited by Cosmo Innes; but Scott had earnestly recommended the work to the young Duke,¹ and wrote himself to Lord Morton, requesting his acquiescence in the publication, as the cartulary had only recently left his family's possession.²

The Maitland Club of Glasgow was founded in 1828, for purposes similar to those of the Bannatyne, and in fact the two clubs co-operated in a number of publications. Scott became a member in 1829, (Journal 602), but does not seem to have been active in it. None the less, the Maitland's long list of valuable works owes a debt to him, and his example, as does the Abbotsford Club of 1833, the short-lived Iona Club of the same year, and in fact all the Scottish clubs.

1. Letters, XI, 134, 138, 408, 423, 428.

2. Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1753, p.43 (unpublished Scott letters); undated letter to Buccleuch, c. 1830.

Prof. Charles S. Terry, in his well-known Catalogue of the publications of Scottish historical clubs, classifies them in his introduction as "pre-Waverley," "Waverley," and "post-Waverley." In the "pre-Waverley" class there are only two members - the Society of Antiquaries (1780) and the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth (1784). This contrast with the numerous clubs in the other classes indicates the extent of the influence ascribed by Terry to Scott. His terminology suggests that this influence was exercised primarily through the novels, and this is no doubt true on the whole; but it may do a little less than justice to Scott's personal exertions in the field of source publication.

It is not proposed here to go into details about Scott's relation to archaeology. He joined the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1796; presented some coins in 1822¹ and a drawing of an inscribed stone in 1828;² read a letter from Lovat to Lochiel in 1824,³ and was a Vice-President in 1827, 1828, and 1829. He did at least one "dig" in his youth, at Fenella's Castle, near Fettercairn;⁴ he was always interested in brochs, stone circles, Roman remains, the "Catrail", abbeys, keeps, and castles - not merely in Scotland, but wherever he went, as may be seen in his books and letters passim. He collected a

1-3. Archaeologia Scotica, Vol. III, p.101, 147, 188.

4. Letters, I, 48.

quantity of museum material, and incorporated some relics of demolition in the fabric of Abbotsford. All this must be passed over with a cursory mention; but, since the preservation of ancient monuments is analogous to the printing of source material, it is relevant at this point to draw attention to his outstanding service in this field, the repair in 1822-3 of Melrose Abbey. From his letters to Lord Montague¹ in Vol. 7 of the Letters (1821-3), it seems reasonable to judge that although the expense was met by Buccleuch, the moving spirit behind the operation was Sir Walter Scott. He was particularly concerned about the great East Window.

The question of apocrypha naturally comes last. Margaret Ball, in her book, Sir Walter Scott as a Critic of Literature, tentatively assigns to Scott several editions: Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life (1809), the Memoirs of Sully (1810), Anthony Hamilton's Grammont (1811), and Warwick's Memoirs of the reign of King Charles the First (1813). She is right about the Grammont, but Scott did little to it.² There is no mention of editing the others, in Lockhart's Life or in the Letters. In the case of the "Sully" the most that can be said is that the few additions made by the 1810 editor, to the already plentifully annotated text which he was re-issuing, might not impossibly have been

1. Uncle and guardian to the 5th Duke of Buccleuch.

2. Letters, XII, 400.

added by Scott. The prefatory writing does not seem at all characteristic of him. - Nothing in the "Herbert" recalls Scott. - Warwick's book is a different matter; the anonymous annotation yields quotations from Falstaff (p.63), Hamlet (p.291), Butler's Hudibras (pp. 88, 174), Dryden (p.95), and Lilly the astrologer (p.225). These are very characteristic of Scott's taste, so that the attribution to him is not unreasonable. But nothing more certain can be said.

C. HISTORICAL WRITING.

(1) Scott's background: Scottish historiography, 1750-1832.

In a period distinguished by the active work on source publication sketched in the last section, one would expect the writers of histories, themselves engaged in most cases on textual work of some kind, to show competence in consulting original material, evaluating it, and using it with scrupulous accuracy in their writing. It is well-known, in fact, that the historians of our period, with few exceptions, practised these virtues with such rigour as to inaugurate a new era in historical writing. Indeed, the antiseptic purity of some of the pioneers may have provoked a certain reaction later on, when we shall find some signs of greater latitude in the admission of evidence.

The period witnessed some pioneer attempts to widen the scope of history, by supplementing the narrative of political, constitutional,

and military history with a picture of society - its economic life, its social life, and the arts.

Another new feature was the attempt to analyse history; to supplement (though not replace) the old-fashioned ethical judgement on the actions of historical persons, by probing deeper for causes and effects into the mysterious, moving mass of communal life. The student now found himself confronted for the first time with the Results of the Crusades, the Causes of the Reformation, and other such things, now familiar. This exciting development naturally gave rise to a distinction between "general" or analytical history, and "popular" or narrative history, rich in anecdote. Large-scale works were able to combine these characteristics. (This distinction will be very frequently referred to in the following pages, and therefore the special meaning attached by Scott to the two words "general" and "popular" is worth noting.)

In their attitude to the past, our historians were basically unanimous. The recent mathematical, scientific, practical, and political achievements of Western Europeans gave them a rationalist outlook; but, paradoxically, pride in these achievements bred in most of them a contempt for earlier periods and cultures, at once rationalist and unscientific. American Indians, pre-1745 Highlanders, Asiatics, and the mediaeval people of 500-1500 A.D. were looked down

upon, more or less, in spite of Ossian, the Sanskrit scholars, and the prestige of chivalry. Nor were our historians able, as a group, entirely to avoid the bias of party, religious, or national prejudice, although no doubt they did better than their predecessors in this matter. All agreed that the Reformation was a Good Thing, and Popery a Bad Thing (at least in Europe: not necessarily in Spanish America). For the century and a half following the Reformation, unity was broken; the Georgian Tory or Pittite historian writing about the 17th Century tended to be pro-monarchy and "high" church; the Whig and democratic was pro-Parliament and "low" church, and the influence of these views can be clearly seen even in books on mediaeval history, when the origins of kingship and of parliament are being discussed. All historians reunited, however, in condemning the wretched King James VII and II, for whom one feels quite sorry after a few volumes, and in lauding the Revolution Settlement, religious toleration, and the supposed "balance" between the "monarchical" and "popular" branches of the constitution. According to this scheme, Queen Mary Stewart should have found no defenders; but in fact gallantry often got the better of logic.

These attitudes remain basically unchanged throughout our period, though some signs of development are visible after 1800. The rationalist outlook, while not giving place to, at least makes some

room for, an evangelical and martyrological spirit, - and that not exclusively on the Whig wing. National prejudice, an old phenomenon, takes on a religious colour, and weakens the markedly cosmopolitan temper of the earlier years. Unmistakeable signs appear of that sentimental attitude to the past, which seems to be connected with nationalism and conservatism, as heightened or emotionalised by Burke. But these developments may have been less marked in Scotland than elsewhere; they certainly effected no fundamental change in historians' attitudes. Earlier periods and alien cultures are still condemned as un-Christian, Popish, despotic, or foreign; national or party views continue to influence judgements. In fact, it is possible to see a certain sharpening of prejudices of all kinds.

There is plenty of writing, however, especially in the earlier part of our period, which is entirely appropriate to an Age of Reason, and which can be read with a sense of fellow-feeling by the modern social scientist.

To illustrate the foregoing propositions, it seems convenient to divide our period into two, at the year 1800, which year not only marks the end of a century, but also the beginning of Scott's active career as a writer. The writers of the first age, 1750-1800, will be treated under the following headings: (1) General historians

(2) William Robertson and some connected writers (3) Historians of Scotland - individual periods (4) Historians of Britain in the period 1660-1714 (5) Classical Historians (6) Certain writers who are not so much historians as commentators, and pioneers of social science. In the case of each historian, the attempt will be made to describe his use of sources, his scope, his bent towards analytical and/or popular writing, and his attitudes or prejudices. - The phrase "Scottish historian" may be variously interpreted; for the present purpose it will be held to exclude consistent exiles who did not write about Scotland - men like Smollett and James Mill - though exception has been allowed in the case of some who spent their professional lives in the East.

(1) General Historians: Hume, Henry, Heron, A.F. Tytler.

In reviewing the great David Hume's History of England (1754-61), (famous for being written "backwards" - Stewarts first, then Tudors, then Middle Ages), one is sorry to have to begin by repeating the old charge that his research was below the standard of the new age; he used existing printed sources, and turned out about one volume per year. This practice could be defended, on the ground that division of labour is characteristic of a developed discipline, and that the research scholar and the writer of history should complement each other.

Even if Nature did not make Hume a researcher, it would have been a great pity if his gift of insight had been lost to historical studies.

His scope is commendably wide. English history is not presented in isolation, but against a fully elaborated British and European background, as one would expect from a cosmopolitan like Hume. He has chapters on government, manners, finance, trade, literature, etc., which, although they have been censured ^s as inadequate, have none the less a pioneer importance.

Hume's book is long enough to be both "general" and "popular." His outstanding intellectual triumph was, of course, his attack on the accepted notion that the early Stewarts in England were innovating despots, and that their Parliaments were merely defending the historic liberties of the people; but he makes other noteworthy points, perceiving, for example, the incipient feudalism of later Anglo-Saxon England,¹ at a time when wild notions were current about the freedom of Anglo-Saxon society; remarking that burgesses were called to Parliament by the mediaeval Kings merely to help in raising taxes,² and not in obedience to any lofty constitutional principle; and seeing as James I's basic problem the general rise in prices in the 16th Century which brought poverty to a government working with a fixed

1. Ed. 1812, I, 204.

2. Ibid., II, 272.

revenue.¹ He even rebukes the complacency of his age, which he himself shared so largely, by pointing to "the great mixture of accident which commonly concurs with a small ingredient of wisdom and foresight in erecting the complicated fabric of the most perfect government."² In saying, "When the people are attached to any theological tenets merely from a general persuasion or prepossession, they are easily induced by any motive or authority to change their faith in these mysterious subjects, as appears from the example of the English,"³ Hume shows an appreciation of the problem of the rôle played by religious controversy in social change, although without doing more than hint at a theory. Another very penetrating remark is the comment on Elizabeth's government by high prerogative, which government, says Hume, in the absence of a standing army and other features of a developed executive, was actually weaker than the carefully limited administrations of his own age.⁴

He occasionally retains something of the old ethical attitude, as when he expresses his pleasure in "humane and virtuous characters, amidst that scene of fury and faction, fraud and violence;"⁵ and he retains the flavour of the old annalistic historian, in frequently

1. Ibid., VI, 47.

2. Ibid., III, 306.

3. Ibid., V, 370.

4. Ibid., V, 471.

5. Ibid., VIII, 164 (Court of Charles II).

detailing what Scott calls "minute circumstances." Details about battles, plots, atrocities, and executions are here in plenty, with sundry anecdotes, one or two of which are worth repeating as characteristic of the book, and because Scott used them later in his Tales of a Grandfather. For example, he tells how the Prince of Conti spoke disparagingly of the fallen Richard Cromwell to an English visitor at his chateau, unaware that the visitor was Richard incog.;¹ and how Charles II, on one occasion during his brief reign in Scotland in 1650, expected a lecture from a Presbyterian divine for toying with a young woman, and was agreeably surprised to find it take the form of a recommendation to keep the windows shut in future.² (Scott varied the plot of this conte out of reverence for his juvenile readers.)

So violent are Hume's prejudices that they would have ruined his book completely but for that Augustan command of witty expression which makes, for example, Pope's satirical thrusts entertaining even when directed against better men than himself. Hume had no time for savages and barbarians, and derided the "dark industry" of the antiquaries who try to elucidate the origins of nations.³ For the Highlanders and Old Irish he had an abysmal contempt, spattering them throughout with words like "savage," "ignorant," "barbarous," "ferocious,"

1. Ibid., VII, 297.

2. Ibid., VII, 193.

3. Ibid., I, 19.

"rapine," "violence," and so on. Speaking of the controversy about the origin of the early Scots, whether in Ireland or in Scotland, he sneered at the national partialities of the disputants, and said "The frivolousness of the question corresponds to the weakness of the authorities;"¹ (incidentally he backed the right side). He thought the Viking rovers barbarised wherever they went, except in Ireland, to which they brought a relative enlightenment.² Admitting the brutality of the Tudor conquest of Ireland, he still thought that James I's settlement brought humanity and justice to a barbarous country.³ Hume should be almost as popular in the Irish Republic as William of Orange or Cromwell.

But the dark and Middle Ages in England fare no better. He begins his history by promising to "hasten through the obscure and uninteresting period of Saxon annals" and ends his account of the Middle Age with a sigh of relief: "we have at last reached the dawn of civility and science."⁴ He describes the lists of Anglo-Saxon kings as a "beadroll of barbarous names"⁵ (we shall find this phrase echoed by Scott); stigmatises compurgation, ordeal, and other such legal institutions, as "absurd" and "ridiculous"; speaks of the incipient modernity of some mediaeval thinking as "faint glimmerings

1. Ibid., I, 474.

2-3 Ibid., I, 424 ff.; VI, 61.

4. Ibid., III, 296.

5. Cf "1066 and All That"

of common sense"; describes the ideals of chivalry as "ancient affectations" and the Garter as "a valuable though a cheap present" from a King to a subject; describes Crecy and other battles with some distaste, observing that mediaeval discipline was imperfect, and that such actions "deserve more the name of routs than of battles."¹ As for the Crusades, they were "the most signal and most durable monument of human folly that has yet appeared";² Hume describes the horrors of the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, and ends with the simple statement that they then proceeded to sing anthems to their Saviour.³ Richard I is compared unfavourably with Saladin, being more barbarous and bigoted.⁴ Mediaeval religion is condemned as a "mean and abject superstition" and the priesthood for its "sloth and ignorance"; yet Hume is careful to advocate an established Church of some kind, on the ground that it may prevent individual "ghostly practitioners"⁵ from attracting "customers" away from rivals by practising on the passions and credulity of the populace. On priestly greed and ignorance, he remarks that the priests, "however little versed in the scriptures",⁶ were yet able to refer correctly to those passages relating to the law of tithe. There is much merry-making at the expense of the saintly legends and miracle stories.

1. Ibid., II, 477.

2. Ibid., I, 292.

3. Ibid., I, 311.

4. Ibid., II, 22.

5. Ibid., IV, 31.

6. Ibid., I, 72.

Hume slackens in his condemnation only when his attention is distracted to the equally congenial task of cudgelling Luther, Calvin, and Knox ("wretched composers of metaphysical polemics"¹); in which good cause he even defends Indulgences and relics.²

Whatever his personal religious beliefs might be, Hume was politically a good C. of E. man and Revolution Tory. Writing about Tudor and Stewart times, he defends the royal Supremacy in the Church,³ pays tribute to the episcopal clergy of the 17th Century as "learned and exemplary",⁴ and always expresses an orthodox admiration for the "balanced" constitution inaugurated in 1688.⁵ His well-founded sympathy for the difficulties of the early Stewarts has already been noticed; he turned away from the later Stewarts on account of their Catholic policy, observing in his superior way that he could scarcely believe any responsible person capable of adopting such a policy, but that he was forced to accept the evidence.⁶

The enthusiasm of the "Left-wing" protestants of England and Scotland (including the Quakers) incurs Hume's unsparing ridicule ("mysterious jargon", "rapturous flights", "ridiculous cant", "gloomy enthusiasm", "bigotry", etc.), and he goes so far as to

1. Ibid., IV, 142.
2. Ibid., IV, 451; IV, 179.
3. Ibid., IV, ~~4~~121.
4. Ibid., VI, 385.
5. Ibid., VI, 560; VIII, 118.
6. Ibid., VIII, 3-5.

maintain that Queen Mary Stewart's guilt (in which Hume believed) was the result of Knox's "native ferocity"¹ and his harsh usage of the Queen. This absurd statement, which does little honour to Hume's philosophy, (a philosophy, be it remembered, which makes a special study of cause and effect), is no doubt inspired by the reasonably well-founded conviction that Calvinism was identified with political insubordination.² The Civil War, says Hume, was brought on by debates about theological trifles. The Five Articles of Perth are "scarcely to be mentioned with decency", so unimportant were they;³ "some men of the greatest parts ... could not enjoy any peace of mind, because obliged to hear prayers offered up to the Divinity by a priest covered with a white linen vestment."⁴ Yet he admits that in spite of their absurdities, these left-wing religionists ensured to the English the boasted freedom of their constitution,⁵ and Hume is understandably tender to the Independents on account of their toleration policy. He could not away with Cromwell's "fanatical hypocrisy", however: "Cromwell ... saw the enemy's camp in motion [at Dunbar, 1650], and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into his hands."⁶

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1. Ibid., V, 26.
 2. Ibid., VI, 85.
 3. Ibid., VI, 86.
 4. Ibid., VI, 203.
 5. Ibid., V, 183.
 6. Ibid., VII, 190.

It is a little surprising to find Hume sympathising with the Scottish Covenanters and condemning the government's treatment of them under Charles II and James VII; he even details the dubious story of the Wigtown martyrs. Such things he finds useful as a foil to the toleration of a later age, or illustrations of the tyranny of a purely monarchical government.¹

National partiality for Scotland makes no figure in Hume's history. Possibly he suppressed it with an eye on the English book-market at a time when Scots were not popular in the South; there seems to be an ironical ring about this reference to Edward I's Scottish policy: "Those who give great indulgence to reasons of state in the measures of princes will not be apt to regard this part of his conduct with much severity."²

The learned Robert Henry spent many years on his bulky "History of England on a New Plan" (55 B.C. - 1547 A.D.), published between 1771 and 1785.³ He seems to have confined himself to available material, but at least proved himself an exceptionally painstaking student thereof, and preferred to spend his time investigating facts instead of polishing sentences.⁴ He displayed critical competence in rejecting the fabulous history of early Britain, although he blundered somewhat

1. Ibid., VII, 440 ff.

2. Ibid., II, 318.

3. The last volume was completed by Malcolm Laing.

4. Henry's History, Ed. 1823, Preface, xi.

(but in good company) by accepting "Ossian".

The "new plan" consisted in treating each period of the history under the headings of events, religion, laws, learning, arts, commerce and manners. This scheme still has a very modern look, although "manners" seem often to be equated by Henry with "morals", with the result that we find some quite old fashioned dissertation on luxury, effeminacy, licence, and so forth. When Henry said that the history of manners was the most useful and amusing part of history, he probably spoke as a minister of the gospel rather than as an anthropologist.

Henry's history is certainly not "popular"; there are no anecdotes. It is factual rather than "general"; there are no brilliant feats of observation and analysis such as Hume offers; in fact, the book is rather dull and stodgy throughout, and this may well explain why Scott, though he mentioned Henry with approbation in Ivanhoe, said later, when reading for Anne of Geierstein (1829) that he was "but a stupid historian after all."¹ The moralist is rather evident in places, as when he extols (derivatively) the courageous Agricola and execrates the wicked Nero and Domitian.

In his attitude to primitive and mediaeval people, Henry did much better than Hume; he seems to have been more alive to the danger

1. Journal, 589.

of judging the past by contemporary standards,¹ and to have taken more to heart the idea that communities have a kind of infancy, growth, and maturity without concluding from it that early institutions are childish. He attempted, with some success, to steer a middle course between those who thought of early Britain as "another Arcadia, peopled with happy shepherds and shepherdesses ... making the hills and dales resound with their melodious songs,"² and those like Hume who regarded their remote ancestors as disgusting savages. There is a sober and ^{even too} appreciative account of the Druids' religion and philosophy, whereas Hume spoke merely of a savage cult, practised in dark groves and secret recesses. Henry is also very good on the Northern religion of the Vikings. But he is not consistent; "Ossian" led him astray, to speak of "delicate descriptions of female beauty" in 3rd Century Britain, of "the modesty and innocence of the ladies' minds," and "the tender, pure, and passionate love" of a chieftain for his absent queen.³ On the other hand, he is able to announce that the record of the internal wars of the Welsh principalities can afford neither entertainment nor instruction, and will therefore be omitted from the narrative. Although he was

1. Henry's History, ed. 1823, IV, 291.

2. Ibid., II, 375.

3. Ibid., II, 179.

balanced about chivalry, describing both its high ideals, and their corruption in practice, yet his account of mediaeval religion is not very successful. He saw (not alone) Protestant leanings in the Celtic Church, and displayed the usual rationalist contempt for hermits, relics, ordeals (accused persons, he says, spoiling a dispassionate account, probably made corrupt bargains with the priests during the preparations for the ordeal),¹ miracles, schoolmen, pilgrims, and Popes. Like most of his contemporaries, he saw no merit in mediaeval art.² It cannot therefore be said that Henry always rose superior to prejudice; but there is still a great difference between Henry and Hume.

Apart from the "Ossian" matter, it is difficult to find national prejudice in his book. Like most Scotsmen writing a British history, he gives Scotland more space than an Englishman would; but there is no distortion such as one finds in James ("Ossian") Macpherson's Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland (1771). This book is devoted wholly to the Scottish and Irish Dark Age, except for a short section at the end of the Anglo-Saxons, and is written mainly to prove that the Scots went from Scotland to Ireland and not the other way round. In comparison with this, Henry's correct

1. Ibid., III, 436.

2. Ibid., VI, 201, 227.

proportion and dull rectitude are venerable. - Although an admirer of the British Constitution, he would not allow the House of Commons to originate in the Witan.¹

George Ridpath, minister of Stithill, published in one volume a Border History of England and Scotland (1776). This book, although the title may suggest reivers and ballads to the modern reader, is in fact an austere history of Anglo-Scottish relations down to 1603, and deserves to be classed with the general histories. Ridpath's merits are those of the severely factual historian; he seems to betray no symptom of being a Presbyterian minister, and his attitude to evidence reminds one of Lord Hailes. He gives, for example, a very brief account of Otterburn, rejecting Froissart's well-known account as inadequately corroborated by the other sources. Much of what is said further on in this section about Hailes will thus apply to Ridpath. Perhaps it is only his title that prevents him from being better known.

Robert Heron, the first biographer of Burns, brought out between 1794 and 1799 a bulky New General History of Scotland from the earliest times to ... 1748. This is hack-work, and deserves little consideration - see, for example, the tell-tale compression of his

1. Ibid., III, 372.

treatment of the complex and difficult closing years of the 16th Century; yet Heron's views have a certain interest. Being himself a person of irregular life, he was exceptionally anxious to promote Piety, Virtue, and Truth; indeed, his style sometimes recalls strongly the more sententious prose letters of that other rigid moralist, Robert Burns. Heron is outstanding, even in a moralising age, for his inveterately ethical attitude to everything.¹ There is a great deal about the debauched lives of clergy and Kings, and a strong tendency to achieve impartiality on every question by censuring both sides. Whilst condemning the luckless James VII and II, he also condemns his opponents for starting a revolution (Heron is influenced here by the recent French "Reign of Terror," and by Burke, no doubt), and lays down the law to the effect that they ought to have practised universal passive resistance.² There are other interesting, if unhelpful, remarks, but much empty commentary, rather obviously concocted to fill space.

Alexander F. Tytler's Elements of General History appeared in 1801, but originated in a course of lectures delivered in Edinburgh University over a period at the end of the 18th Century³ - he has the distinction of having been Scott's history professor. Most of his

1. He may have known more about Tacitus than about Scottish history.
2. Heron, New General Hist., V, 699.
3. Outlines were published in 1783, and expanded into Elements in 1801.

published work lies outside the field of general history. As a student's universal history, his very successful Elements have all the dryness, as well as the utility, of a compressed and comprehensive text-book; it has chapters on manners, government, customs, the arts; it is moralistic in tone. In general, the prejudices are conventional for the time; but one is surprised to find it stated as received fact that the Rizzio murder was committed so that Mary would (1) die or (2) miscarry or (3) incur suspicion afterwards when Darnley should be assassinated according to her enemies' long pre-arranged plan; it was, apparently, a general purposes murder. This Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee) was the son of a leading member of the Marian-apologetic school of the 18th Century, and was perhaps seduced by this circumstance into departing momentarily from the caution of a text-book. Scott never mentions it, nor does he mention Heron. His references to Hume are numerous; to Henry and Ridpath, few.

(2) William Robertson and others. The famous Principal Robertson's works deal for the most part with the 16th Century; the first century of modern times interested him as the age in which the modern European state system took shape.¹ His works are: History of Scotland (1542-1603), published 1759; History of the Reign of Charles V,

1. Charles V., Ed. 1806, Preface, x-xi.

published 1769; History of America, 1777, dealing almost wholly with the Spanish conquests, except for a few chapters at the end of the early British settlements; and Historical Disquisition concerning the knowledge which the ancients had of India, and the progress of trade with that country prior to the discovery of the passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope (1791). It is hardly necessary to repeat the well-known facts that he spent many years over his books, and was exemplary, by any standard, in documentary research, exhaustive consultation of printed books, evaluation of authorities, and faithful use of material. In the History of Scotland, particularly, for which the documentary material was comparatively accessible to him, he showed a gallant determination to grit his teeth and do his duty: "Many important papers have escaped the notice of these industrious collectors [Cotton and others] ... it was my duty to search these, and I found this unpleasant task attended with considerable utility."¹ The policy of a documentary appendix, followed in the History of Scotland, was abandoned in the other books, but instead Robertson supplied a large mass of learned "Proofs and Illustrations." He pointed out the biased nature of the evidence for the Spanish conquests in America, provided on the one hand by illiterate adventurers who despised the natives, and

1. History of Scotland, Preface.

on the other by missionaries who tended to idealise them;¹ on this account, he regretted that he could not obtain access to certain Spanish government papers, which he thought might place the doings of the Spaniards in America in a more favourable light.

Unlike Henry, Robertson made no systematic attempt to widen the scope of history, and the staple of his narrative is political, religious, and military. But there are many things - such as the famous account of the development of society in the Middle Ages with which he begins the Charles V, and the discussions in the America on primitive society in the new world, the pre-Columbian civilisations there, and the Spanish colonial system - which remove any impression of narrowness. In the Scotland, his full exposition of the European background operates in the same way. Indeed, Robertson gives the impression of having a more extended scope than Henry, perhaps because Henry achieved his aim in the mechanical manner characteristic of one whose intellectual gifts are ^{not} quite extended to match.

Ethical judgements on individual conduct are perhaps more frequent in Robertson than in Hume; but in the matter of analysis and interpretation, Robertson holds his own with Hume, although he perhaps had not the luck to light upon a really popular controversy

1. Hist. of America, Ed. 1806, II, 56.

like that of King versus Parliament. To the excellent discussions mentioned in the foregoing paragraph might be added, as examples of his power, the view of Scottish history as the painful parturition of an effective central government, obstructed by a local particularism which derived its strength from the facts of geography;¹ the discussion on the origin of the American peoples;² and the inquiry into the question why the Cape route to India was discovered so late in the history of civilisation.³ He found congenial exercise in the more restricted field of historical mysteries; the Dissertation on the murder of Darnley appended to the Scotland makes first-rate reading, as does his account of the Gowrie Conspiracy. With Robertson a modern reader can still feel, much of the time, that he is in company with a contemporary analyst. Interpositions of Divine Providence in human affairs, now so unfashionable in historical writing, are postulated by Robertson, but not very often.

Robertson is a less "popular" historian than Hume. He is certainly full of colour; public events, like the Rizzio and Darnley murders, and other episodes in the career of Queen Mary; the assassination of the Regent Moray; the capture of Dumbarton Castle; - all these and many others are given in full with all the racy picturesqueness of the old

1. Hist. of Scotland, preliminary review of the history to 1542.
2. America, Ed. 1803, Vol. II.
3. India, Ed. 1804, 163 ff.

annalists; but anecdotes of private or semi-private life do not appear. Knox's famous interviews with Queen Mary are passed by, and even the account of the Rizzio murder is prefaced with an apology for the affront offered to the dignity of history by the introduction on the stage of such a personage as the unlucky Italian secretary.

In his attitude to earlier cultures, Robertson wished to be objective. He was aware of the barriers which obstruct mutual appreciation between different cultures;¹ he knew that it is unjust to scorn "unpolished nations;" he knew the need for adequate observation before theorising can safely begin;² he condemned the "noble savage" myth, mentioning J. J. Rousseau by name;³ he regarded American Indian society as a source of valuable evidence, not available to the ancients, "to complete the history of the human mind."⁴

This scientific attitude undoubtedly bears fruit in practice. In the matter of the American Indians, he produces many shrewd observations, and never idealises. He will not compare Indian craftiness in war with the chivalrous gallantry of European tradition, in order to prove the moral superiority of Europeans; he seeks an explanation at once more objective and more substantial, and finds one in the exceptional need experienced by the Indians to conserve man-

1. America, II, 53 (1803).

2. America, II, 57 (1803).

3. Ibid., II, 58.

4. Ibid., II, 50.

power.¹ The theory of the superiority of temperate-zone people is offered, but only with great caution.² - On the other hand, the America shows many symptoms of 18th Century complacency; there is a good deal about Indian ignorance and barbarity, and the contrast ^{with} of European "polish" and "refinement", with the frequent repetition of these two words, can become tiresome. Although he knew that the American Indians did not envy Europeans³ and were even critical of them, the basic European prejudice appears in the statement that long periods of time must elapse before the "institutions requisite in a well-ordered society"⁴ are devised. The idea that a neolithic tribe could be well-ordered on its own level appears not to be entertained at all. As for the pre-Columbian civilisations, he definitely underestimated them.⁵

On the Highlanders and Irish Robertson seems to have little or nothing to say, but there is much about the Middle Ages, and here he follows the conventional line of his period; recalling Henry's restraint, however, and not Hume's unmitigated scorn. Mediaeval religion is criticised, though without waste of rhetoric; the Crusades are condemned as frenzied folly in the usual way, though their commercial results are noted with interest;⁶ monasticism is represented

1. Ibid., II, 155.

2. Ibid., II, 240.

3. Ibid., II, 235.

4. Ibid., III, 274.

5. Ibid., III, 274 ff.

6. Charles V, Ed. 1806, I, 31; America, I, 42.

as a waste of labour-power;¹ the Crusaders are compared unfavourably with their opponents. Chivalry, however, is praised by Robertson,² as it usually is in that age.

In the matter of the Asiatic civilisations, we find that he hardly knows what to make of the Mohammedan religion, praising its tolerance in one place³ and condemning its fanaticism in another;⁴ nor yet of the Turks. None the less, it was an Asiatic subject which inspired him to his finest achievement in the appreciation of older cultures; his description of Hindu society in the Disquisition, though not an objective study in the modern manner, is the nearest thing to it - a soberly friendly account, designed to convince the East India Company's servants that the Indians are not an inferior race, and thus to promote the welfare of the Company's recently-acquired subject populations.⁵ The government, law, art, science, religion, and caste system of India are expounded, with quotations from the recently-translated Bhagavad-Gita and Sakuntala. Although popular Hindu religion arouses some disgust, Robertson is aware of the quality of the higher religious thought of India.⁶ On the position of the British in India, it may be remarked, there is an oblique reference in the America,

1. America, IV, 48.

2. Charles V, I, 82.

3. Charles V, I, 176.

4. Disquisition on India (Ed. 1804), 214.

5. Ibid., 286-7.

6. Ibid., Appendix.

where he remarks that "the device of employing the magistrates and forms already established as instruments to introduce a new dominion" are not "sublime refinements in policy peculiar to the present age", but were used by the Spaniards in America.¹

There is an interesting duality in Robertson's attitude to the Reformation. In the field of British and European history, he is quite strongly anti-Catholic when the reformers are actually on the stage, though he never becomes emotional about Protestant martyrs;² but when dealing with the Spanish missionaries in America, he is inclined to forget about the antiquated superstitions of Rome, ^{and} pays really generous tribute to their work. He finds "a Spanish monk of the 16th Century among the first advocates against persecution and in behalf of religious liberty" - i.e. Cortes' chaplain.³ Even the Jesuits are the subject of a long and remarkable appreciation;⁴ and that formidable person Cardinal Ximenes is treated with sympathy. - In Scottish religious affairs, Robertson is clearly on the Protestant and Presbyterian side; but he is anti-theocratic,⁵ criticises the political rigidity of Knox,⁶ approves of the "politiques" who tried to bring Queen Mary Stewart round to the view that London was worth a Scotch sermon,⁷ and speaks of

1. America, II, 335.

2. Eg. Wishart: see Scotland (ed. 1806), I, 317.

3. America, II, 308.

4. Charles V, III, 189.

5. Scotland, II, 425.

6. Ibid., II, 359.

7. Ibid., II, 96.

the episcopal developments of the year 1600 without bitterness.

Robertson's national partiality for Scotland was very faint - this group achieved neutrality here more successfully than in any other connection, although one might expect Scottish prejudice to outlast every other; but we are dealing with a circle who were notorious as "sedulous apes" of the Southron. The Union controversy of 1705-07 had become for him "a matter of mere curiosity;"¹ the malevolence of national hatred between Scots and English in the 16th Century was "such as can hardly be conceived by their posterity."² - In like manner, he displays no British animus against foreign nations; "the principle of integrity [is] interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any other nation;"³ high tributes are paid to Spain and Portugal for their pioneer work in the expansion of Europe, and he refuses to exploit stories of Spanish atrocities, insisting that when Pizarro murdered Atahualpa, several Spanish officers protested.⁴ Robertson may have been thinking of these Spaniards, not as foreigners, but rather as fellow-Europeans.

He did not write on 17th and 18th Century history, but it is clear that he was in constitutional matters at home an orthodox believer in the balanced-constitution theory and in religious toleration, going

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- 1. Ibid., I, 207.
 - 2. Ibid., I, 313.
 - 3. America, III, 262.
 - 4. Ibid., III, 157.

so far as to prefer feudal particularism to royal absolutism.¹

From this rather long discussion of Robertson's principal attitudes in history, no very clear conclusion emerges. He undoubtedly aimed at objectivity, and had his successes and his failures - both at times occurring in unexpected places.

Robertson had a rival and a bitter critic in one Gilbert Stuart, who, however, quickly fell into the background after his ^{own} day, being an unbalanced kind of person, and not really a historian at all. He described record learning as "instructive but ~~(lastly)~~ tasteless erudition;"² we are not surprised, therefore, to find that he saw the dark age as it were through the eyes of Sir Thomas Malory; that he saw chivalry flourishing in ideal perfection among the Anglo-Saxons, only to be corrupted by the emergence of private property, and by the Norman substitution of service according to land tenure for service prompted by the pure sentiment of honourable obligation.³ The Anglo-Saxons, it seems, had a national assembly with representation for the Commons, and Magna Carta was "declaratory of the constitutional freedom that had distinguished this fortunate isle from the earliest times."⁴ (This, of course, is Whig and anti-Hume propaganda). A similar intemperance appears in the description of monasteries as

1. Scotland, III, 187.

2. View of Society in Europe, Ed. 1792, p.vii.

3. Ibid., p.80.

4. Ibid., p.94.

"houses of debauch,"¹ and throughout the whole of his History of Scotland from the establishment of the Reformation till the death of Queen Mary (1782). Stuart hoped no doubt to supersede Robertson with this book, but as Malcolm Laing pointed out long ago, it is little more than an obstinate and adoring defence - nay, eulogy - of the Queen's every action.

Two members of the Mariqn-apologetic school have now been mentioned: Tytler and Stuart, Walter Goodall, the editor of the Scotichronicon, also published a defence; at least one Englishman, John Whitaker, joined the ranks. Probably the most learned member of the group, George Chalmers, belongs, as a historian of Scotland, to the early 19th Century, and has yet to be noticed. As a group, this school doubtless did service to history by bringing forward evidence; but they fail to impress as historians - not necessarily because they were advocates and propagandists (Malcolm Laing, a good historian, was an advocate, and a deadly one, on the other side), but because their attempt to combine the defence of Mary with a sound Protestant position forces them into laughable contortions. - And yet it must be significant that the great historians - Hume, Robertson, P.F. Tytler, and may one add Walter Scott? - all found against Mary, though with gentlemanly regret.

1. Ibid., 132.

Connected with Robertson in a different way was Robert Watson, who continued where the Charles V left off, with his History of the Reign of Philip II, and History of the Reign of Philip III (1777, 1783). These books remained long in use, and their research does not seem to have been impugned, but they fall far below the standard of Robertson. Their Protestant bias is very decided; Philip II is a bigoted monster, and William the Silent a virtuous hero. The Philip III was completed by William Thomson, whose attitude to Spain was much more generous; but he spoiled things by inveighing against the ignorance and stupidity of the American Indians.

Walter Scott quotes Robertson frequently, Watson and the Marian apologists on occasion.

(3) Historians of Scotland - special periods. The name of David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, is well-known to a wide literary public through Boswell's Life of Johnson. He put out a considerable number of publications, mostly small, though not unimportant, but he is best known by his extended work, The Annals of Scotland (1776-79), which runs from Malcolm III to the death of David II. This title furnishes a key to Hailes' historical work; his aim was to furnish a scrupulously correct statement of the sequence of events in early Scottish history, supported at every turn by reliable authority. There was, of course, a crying need for such a book; the older fabulous writers on early

Scotland had already been under fire for a century or more, and not merely by sceptical Englishmen, bent on humbling the pretensions to antiquity of Scottish national pride; it is on record, for example, that Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch,¹ one of the 17th Century group, was an infidel towards Hector Boece. But so difficult was the problem of separating fact from fable, that Hailes frankly abandoned the First Millenium almost completely, leaving it to be attacked later on somewhat broader lines by George Chalmers.² It is easy to understand, therefore, that later workers in the field have thought on occasion that Hailes pushed his scepticism rather far; and yet, at that time, nothing could be more salutary for historical studies.

Although he took a lawyer's pleasure in analysing the evidence for what actually happened, Hailes did ^{not} practise "generalising" - seeking causes, effects, trends, developments. To do so would have meant sacrificing the title of "Annals"; but in any case an absorbing passion for legal proof is perhaps not easily compatible with the gift of broad historical theorising. In his Remarks on the History of Scotland (a collection of essays published in 1773), there is, for example, a singularly unconvincing defence of Queen Mary's marriage to Bothwell.

Such a man as Hailes may be relied upon to display no party or

1. Macfarlane's Geog. Coll., II, 340 (S.H.S.)

2. He gave up the details of the Battle of Largs on account of hopelessly conflicting testimony.

national partialities; in fact, P. F. Tytler later went so far as to change him with an undue preference for English sources over Scottish when establishing the Scottish history. The old Scottish legal treatise, Regiam Majestatem (sworn by so often by Poor Peter Peebles in Redgauntlet) displays remarkable similarity to the 12th Century English legal treatise of Glanville. Some patriotic Scots had argued that the Regiam possessed high antiquity, and was copied by the English writer; Hailes correctly argued the converse in his Examination of some of the arguments for the high antiquity of Regiam Majestatem ... (1769). He did, however, espouse party to the extent of arguing against Gibbon from a Christian viewpoint in some later writings.

All this might suggest that Hailes must be repulsively dry reading; but if he is dry, it is with the dryness of the Peruvian climate, which preserves inhumated organic matter uncorrupted for centuries without special treatment, to the delight of the pre-Columbian archaeologist. To read Hailes is to listen to a learned judge discoursing in apicibus juris. Like many other judges, he qualifies his austerity (in the notes) with touches of pawky humour - it was he who made in the Annals the famous remark that Scotland was reformed from Popery but not yet from Hector Buce.

It is unusual for an annalist, who is primarily concerned with events, to be sympathetic towards the aims of a man like Robert Henry;

and yet we find Hailes appending to his Annals, rather apologetically, some material illustrative of social life.

John Pinkerton is best known for his History of Scotland (1797), which continues Hailes to the year 1542; before writing this, he had rushed in where Hailes had feared to tread, and had indulged in theorising about national origins in his Disquisition on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, a discussion of European scope (1787), and Enquiry into the history of Scotland preceding the reign of Malcolm III (1789). There are other books, of less importance.

In spite of an absurdly flowery style, Pinkerton has always been recognised as a leading historian on account of his History of Scotland. In this work, he uses and prints MS. sources, discusses his authorities, uses the records to correct the errors of older historians, takes particular trouble over chronology, and strips the legendary accretions from the story of events like the death of Rothesay and the clan battle at Perth. His attitude to evidence, though exemplary, avoids the charge of stiffness; unlike Ridpath, he admits Froissart's account of Otterburn, and accepts the "naïf veracity" of Pitcottie. James IV's vision at St. Michael's Church, Linlithgow, and the midnight summons at the Cross of Edinburgh before Flodden, are accepted in the manner of the 18th Century rationalists, as stratagems devised by the critics of the King's policy. In discussing the events of 1482, he

observes that "even records cannot atone for the want of contemporary historians": a remark which shows that he was by no means incapable of a balanced attitude. Even in the earlier and much inferior books on the Dark Ages, he shows blood - the Pictish Chronicle is quoted and discussed; Thomas Innes is duly admired; Macpherson's Ossian is allowed a traditional basis somewhere in the 14th or 15th Century A.D.;¹ and a sound instinct warns him to treat the De Situ Britanniae of Richard of Cirencester with coolness - he cannot question the authenticity, but obviously wishes he could.² (Pinkerton had been dead many years before the learned world discovered that this work was an 18th century forgery).³ The Enquiry begins with an interesting review of Scottish antiquaries and their publications in the 17th and 18th Centuries, which displays much judgement.

In his History of Scotland, Pinkerton follows Hume in widening the scope of the political history to include social and economic matters, by means of a series of "Retrospects" interspersed throughout the narrative.

It cannot well be said that Pinkerton's "general" or theorising turn was a happy one. There is not very much of it in the History of Scotland, and this is perhaps fortunate; in the Dissertation and

1. Enquiry, II, 78 (1789).

2. Ibid., I, 12.

3. He was not quite alone as a doubter: see Thomas Reynolds, Iter Britanniarum (1799).

Enquiry it is allowed freeplay, with disastrous results, which are better dealt with under the heading of prejudices. On the other hand, Pinkerton's Scotland (1370-1542) is a very good "popular" or narrative history, rather after the manner of Robertson; that is, it gives full, colourful, circumstantial accounts of important events, but only of these: anything else he regarded as unworthy.

Pinkerton's theory that the Picts were Goths (or Teutons) arose out of his notorious prejudice against the Celtic Highlanders and their "savage" culture - a prejudice which lingers yet in unfashionable circles. It is this which fatally disfigures the Enquiry and Dissertation; yet they were probably useful in their day as counterblasts to the "Ossian" cult. - "All Europe has been inundated with nonsense about the Celts,"¹ he complains. His violence is often amusing. The Celtic antiquaries of his own day are represented as lying on their backs like Highland senachies, "pumping their brains for rhetorical encomium and panegyric;"² the Highlanders, he says, play no part in Scottish history after 1056 except as thieves,³ and as such have been dreaded by the Lowlanders, as savages are dreaded by civilised nations; he describes them as "a paltry Irish colony"⁴ and "these Celtic cattle."⁵ Not only were they "absolute savages", but, "like

1. Dissertation, 123 (1787).

2. Enquiry, I, xv.

3. Ibid., I, xvii.

4. Ibid., I, 14.

5. Ibid., I, 341.

Indians and Negroes, will ever continue so."¹ (This statement later incurred the special reprobation of Scott). Even the Gaelic language offers proof of the genetic inferiority of the Highlanders: "They decline nouns ... by altering the initials ... a strange and horrible absurdity! as it cancels every rule of language, and must show a confused and dark understanding in the people who use it."² Since the Picts were Goths ("a wise, valiant, and generous people"³) it was necessary to prove that the Celtic Scots did not conquer or absorb the Picts, but the other way round;⁴ from which it follows, of course, that the Kings of modern Britain have no trace of Irish and Celtic origin.⁵ Believing that the "Gothic" language of the Picts was the parent of Lowland Scots, he coined a new name for that classical dialect; "Piko-Gothic."⁶ (This may suggest an unwillingness to allow a Southern origin for Scottish English, but Pinkerton, like the other writers already considered, was not noticeably anti-English; he even maintains that Edward I has been blamed for the destruction of records which could never have existed in quantity in our small and poor country.⁷)

Pinkerton has other personal views, which however do not seem to

1. Ibid., I, 340.
2. Dissertation, 123.
3. Enquiry, I, 268.
4. Enquiry, I, 232, 268.
5. Ibid., II, 135.
6. Ibid., I, 337.
7. Ibid., I, xxxiv.

distort his work to the same extent. He was one of the few Scottish historians who showed signs of infidelity to Christianity; "let us be contented to ascribe to Christianity its just merits in advancing the state of barbarian society";¹ "to the credit of Robert II and Robert III it may be remarked that no religious foundation is ascribed to them."² (But he saw the value of saintly biographies and published a volume of them.) His politics were decidedly Whiggish and anti-aristocratic; "Had Scotland been blessed with a more free and democratic government ..." He often shows a hostile attitude towards the nobles in his book. Rather impolitically, perhaps, he attacked the legal fraternity: "few and rare are those judges, or even lawyers in Scotland who have twined the wreath of eloquence around the altar of freedom." Like many other reformers, he believed devoutly in the rights and privileges of the Commons in the Dark Age;³ thought that feudalism became corrupted from an original purity after the 11th Century; and, perhaps with more justice, he condemned George Buchanan's anti-prerogative De Iure Regni as an aristocratic performance, pointing out no new organ of the popular voice.⁴

Few men can have combined so much good scholarship with so much utter nonsense as John Pinkerton.

1. Hist. of Scotland, I, 173.

2. Ibid., I, 177.

3. Dissertation, 142.

4. Iconographia Scotica (Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch).

The history of Scotland built up by Hailes, Pinkerton, and Robertson was continued from 1603 to 1707 by Malcolm Laing, whose History of Scotland came out in two vols. in 1800, including an exhaustive, if not strictly relevant 'Dissertation on Ossian' (anti-Macpherson) and an Essay by Pinkerton on the Gowrie Conspiracy, ascribing the plot to Anne of Denmark. The second edition of 1804 dropped Pinkerton's essay, but added two stout preliminary vols. by Laing himself on the Darnley Murder, in which he presents the case against Queen Mary.

The standards of Hailes, Pinkerton, and Robertson were well maintained by the "acute Orcadian", as Scott calls him. A keen researcher, he worked over much MS. material never before used, including papers preserved in the families of Mar, Clerk of Penicuik, and Lauder of Fountainhall. He showed a marked capacity for shrewd commentary, as when he expounded the political and religious significance of the apparently trifling Five Articles of Perth, so loftily despised by Hume. Like Hailes, Laing delighted in problems of evidence, although unlike Hailes he was much more the advocate than the judge, and did not know how to strengthen his case by discarding the less telling points. There are many penetrating remarks: "The balance ascribed to the English constitution is often ideal"¹ seems to be a very

1. Laing, History, Ed. 1800, I, 218.

good one for a period when Montesquieu still held the field.¹ Laing fully appreciates the vital importance of the Militia Bill of the Long Parliament, 1641 - an importance of which later writers have needed to be reminded. He discusses at length, and very ably, the thorny question of the surrender of Charles I by the Scots to the English Parliament in 1646.

Unlike Hume, Henry, and Pinkerton, Laing confines himself to politics, religion, and war;² and his narrative of these matters is on the whole much less circumstantial than that of Pinkerton and Robertson. He is, then, much more "general" than "popular".

The reader is never left in any doubt about Laing's attitude: he is Presbyterian and anti-Stewart throughout, displaying an especial frigidity towards the Highlanders and Montrose. The famous anthology verses of Montrose are dismissed as turgid bombast, and he dwells upon the ferocity etc. of the clans. On Charles I, he says "it must appear far less surprising that he perished on a scaffold than that he survived so long";³ but this sounds worse out of context than it really is. On the whole, Laing does keep his prejudice within bounds which are still considered decent. He is certainly not national; of the Darien Scheme, he asserts that the Africa Company originated as

1. But Bentham had already criticised the English constitution in his Fragment on Government (1776).
2. A widerview is taken only when it is necessary to fill the void of the Cromwellian usurpation.
3. Laing, History, I, 387.

a means whereby English capital might evade the monopoly of the East India Company by the device of starting a rival just over the Border out of reach of English law¹ (this is Bishop Burnet's view); your hot Scots patriot never mentions this, even to deny it.

Whenever Sir Walter Scott was asked to recommend a course in Scottish history, he named Hailes, Pinkerton, Robertson, and Laing² (except that he dropped Laing once without naming a substitute - perhaps by inadvertence, or because he was thinking at the moment of 1603 as terminal date). He says Hailes is dry (for young people), Pinkerton ill-written, Laing prejudiced and given to generalising; but all are indispensable. He also names some older books on occasion, but not consistently.

John Howie of Lochgoin, a Scots Cameronian farmer, published in 1774 the once-famous volume of Scots Worthies.³ This is ^{late} a Presbyterian martyrology, and as such has no particular standing historically - it could never, for example, be named along with Wodrow; but as an important product of, and in its turn an influence upon, the mental climate of the Scottish peasantry, and therefore upon Scott himself, it is worth a brief notice.

1. Ibid., II, 232.

2. Letters, IV, 322; VI, 320; VIII, 48, 444; Journal, 378.

3. Biographia Scoticana, or ... Scots Worthies etc.

(4) Historians of Britain in the period 1660-1714. This period, in which the much-admired balanced constitution of Britain took shape amid the squabbles of Crown and Country, attracted the attention of three Scots, Sir John Dalrymple, James ("Ossian") Macpherson, and Thomas Somerville.

Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain (1771-88) cover the years 1681-1702. The book includes an exceptionally bulky collection of letters and papers, which gave it great importance as a work of research. And yet Dalrymple valued traditional reports, at least those handed down in ruling-class families; he preferred them sometimes to published accounts, and was delighted when he was able to confirm them in the course of his MS. researches.¹ The changing attitude of his period to historical accuracy is reflected in his statement "I have often thrown what people thought into what they said. This ... may in this age give an appearance of infidelity to the narrative"² (warranted by the classics, of course).

As he was concerned largely with courts, personalities, and intrigues, Dalrymple can hardly match his contemporaries in the matter of range, nor can he be described as a "general" historian; he is indeed very markedly "popular", filling his narrative with stories of

1. Dalrymple, Memoirs (1771), I, vi.
2. Ibid.

a traditional flavour, off the beaten track of general history.

Dundee's Spartan conduct, on the occasion when he pistolled a young gentleman in the field for cowardice, in order to spare him the ignominy of dying by the hand of a common executioner, is typical, and other specimens will be quoted later in another connection.

In outlook, Dalrymple was a Revolution Settlement man, but he displays at times Scottish and even Jacobite partialities - the only one to do so in the period we are considering. He seems, for example, to take a somewhat national line on the Darien Scheme, insisting that the climate of Darien was eminently suitable for European settlement.¹ He is very enthusiastic about Dundee (Graham of Claverhouse), making a hero of him - high-minded, well-read, marching along with his men.² The Highlanders are the subject of an equally enthusiastic description, which is obviously influenced by the Ossianic craze, then at its height. According to this idyllic picture, the Highlanders were a music and poetry-loving people, practising every simple virtue, cultivating punctilious politeness in social intercourse, sending all their children to school, hospitable to strangers, and in general displaying an elevation of mind which reflected the vastness of the objects surrounding them in their mountain home.³

1. Memoirs, Pt. III, Bk. VI, p.90 (1788).

2. Ibid., Part II, Book II, P.46. (1771).

3. Ibid., Pt. II, Bk. II, p.47 ff.

The Original Papers on this period, edited by James Macpherson, have already been mentioned; he wrote, further, a History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the accession of the House of Hanover (1775). This book is much more creditable to Macpherson than those for which he is famous. The research is undeniable, as he was using his own Original Papers; the scope is wide enough to include a clearly-marked European background. Rather unexpectedly, he is much more general than popular, eschewing descriptions of executions, and interesting himself rather in problems like the relationship of Charles II to the French court - he thinks Charles duped Louis XIV by taking his money without rendering corresponding services.¹ The treaty of Utrecht is discussed - and defended - at length.

Though he was orthodox on the Revolution Settlement like all the rest, (but with Tory orientation), the noticeable thing about him⁵ attitudes is his lack of enthusiasm on all sides; he seems to be an iconoclast, though not a noisy one. If Charles II had survived, he would have made the monarchy despotic,² and James II "descended from the character of a King to that of an apostle";³ on the other hand, Shaftesbury was an extremist;⁴ William of Orange intrigued for many years before 1688 to obtain the British thrones; his supporters were a

1. Op. cit., I, 131.

2. Ibid., I, 424.

3. Ibid., I, 570.

4. Ibid., I, 308.

disloyal lot, engaging after the Revolution in constant intrigue with St. Germain; Macpherson gives him no credit as the architect of the anti-French coalitions. - In the field of Scottish affairs, Macpherson displays no zeal for either prelacy or the Covenant.¹ - An interesting book, which the author's notoriety in the literary field may well have involved in undeserved neglect.

Stung by Macpherson's very cool estimate of William, Thomas Somerville, Minister of Jedburgh, wrote two volumes on the same period: History of Political Transactions and of parties from the Restoration of King Charles the Second to the death of King William (1792), and History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne (1798). - This historian's reputation for research stands high; he lists, in the Queen Anne, a variety of original papers consulted, (including the important Clerk of Penicuik collection), and gives a documentary appendix which he wishes could be much larger.² - Although there is unavoidably, much military history in his books, it is obvious throughout that his main interest lies in the field of party conflicts and motives, which offer an attractively tangled skein for the "general" historian to unravel, and to the discussion of which he sacrifices all picturesque and anecdotal material. To some readers, the discussions

1. Ibid., I, 110.

2. Queen Anne, Preface, xi.

may seem at times very prolix. Somerville likes to discuss things like the political implications of Presbytery; the religious policy of King William, caught between victorious Episcopacy in England and victorious Presbytery in Scotland; the conduct of the Tory ministers at the end of Queen Anne's reign, and the question how far they were involved with Jacobitism (he concludes that they had no concerted plan to restore "James VIII and III").¹ The Whigs, he says, favoured the popular branch of the constitution, and the Tories favoured the prerogative, yet in practice the political measures of the parties differed less than one might expect.² Taking this in conjunction with his statement that the Whigs represented commerce, and the Tories, the land and the Church of England, we have a surprisingly modern-looking theory, and a sceptical attitude to official party philosophies which is even yet by no means universal.

One must not, however, exaggerate the modernism of Somerville. His invocations of Divine Providence are exceptionally frequent for his age (the Union of 1707 was "pointed out by the hand of the wise Creator of the Universe").³ His declared aim of serving the cause of moral improvement, patriotism, and political wisdom leads him into a type of discussion reminiscent of Robert Heron, as when he execrates

1. Queen Anne, 592.

2. Restoration to King William, 567-569.

3. Ibid., 482.

not only the arbitrary rule of Charles II after 1681, but also the abject timidity which submitted to it. This ethical attitude pervades much of his discussion. Like other casuists, he is sometimes unable to make up his mind, as in the case of the Exclusionist politicians under Charles II, whom he is unable either to approve or condemn, though he devotes many pages to the search for a finding. There is in Somerville, therefore an interesting mixture of the moralistic historian, seeking examples from the past of virtuous and wicked conduct on the part of individuals, and of the observer who explains the conduct of statesmen in terms of the conflicting interests of the groups which they lead.

In the matter of attitudes, Somerville's position is quite clear - he is Williamite, Whig and Scots Presbyterian. Charles II and James II were villains; Shaftesbury and William were heroes. All the same, he is honest; he gives credit to Macpherson, where he thinks credit is due; and contents himself with minimising Macpherson's charges against King William instead of resorting to flat denial - or rather, he seeks to give a favourable interpretation to accepted facts. - As a Scot, Somerville gives ample space to Scottish affairs,¹ but is not nationalist, following, for example, the Whig view of the Darien Scheme, already mentioned in connection with Laing. He takes

1. especially Queen Anne, chapters 8-9-10.

rank as a British national propagandist in the dedication of the Queen Anne, where he draws a parallel between the anti-French struggle of her day and his own, and speaks of "invigorating the public mind in a season of impending danger"; but there is no sign of what would now be felt as a national animus against the French.

These three men, Dalrymple, Macpherson, and Somerville, writing in the same generation on the same topic, might furnish forth an interesting little study by themselves. They display the available variations of popular, general, and ethical history, and of right- and left-wing politics against a background of basic unanimity. - Scott's preference is clearly for Dalrymple.

(5) Ancient Historians. Our period produced three standard works on Ancient History. Scott's rector at the High School, Alexander Adam, wrote a Roman Antiquities (1791), which would nowadays be described as a "Companion to Latin Studies": in spite of Adam's admiration for Roman republican institutions, it is cool and factual. - Very different are the other two. Adam Ferguson's History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, 1782 (running to the accession of Caligula), displays several points of interest. He rejects the traditional stories of early Rome, as being intended for entertainment, not information - the time for the judicious interpretation of such material had not yet come. In consequence, the earlier part of the

history is quite "general", dealing largely in law, social organisation, class conflict, and the social and economic changes accompanying expansion. Much greater prominence is given to detailed narrative at later stages, so that a more "popular" tone pervades the account of the last two centuries or so of the Republic. The really outstanding feature of the book, however, is the ethical purpose pursued by the author; he was a professor of Moral Philosophy, and treated the history of the Roman Republic as a vast object-lesson for students of his subject; he showed them how a "good" constitution - the Republic - gave way to a "bad" one - the Empire - and how conquest, wealth, and luxury destroyed private morality and public spirit, fostering instead selfish ambition and profligacy among the leaders. When we read that the champions of the Republic were right to carry on the struggle against monarchy even after that struggle had become hopeless, we realise how much the writer was pre-occupied by moral questions. His severe handling of the personal deficiencies of the various tyrants who came under his notice shows how completely he was working in the spirit of Tacitus.

There will surely always be an important place for such studies, however, unfashionable they may be at present; the leaders of newly-rich communities might be able to learn something useful from them. They are always in danger, however, of becoming unhistorical - Ferguson

contrasts the "paltry ambition" of Pompey and Caesar with the "noble elevation of mind" of earlier statesmen, whose sole desire, it seems, was to combine public service with an unblemished private life.¹

Studies in black and white are no longer acceptable.

The ancient historians of our period, being naturally more completely under classical influence, may have been rather handicapped in their movement towards a new type of history, in comparison with their brethren in the British and European field. It is certain that John Gillies' History of Ancient Greece (1786), running to the division of the Macedonian Empire in the East, was equally moralistic in tone, expatiating throughout on the personal vices and virtues of the leading characters. He had a good name, apparently, for fidelity to a range of sources which he claimed was exceptionally wide; but unlike Ferguson he had an almost unlimited faith in the traditions of the earliest times, accepting Homer's account of the Trojan War as historical - although he demurred to attempts at connecting Greek religion with the Jewish dispensation.² For the rest, his scope was wider than Ferguson's, in that he varied his narrative, more successfully than Henry, with descriptions of institutions, manners, philosophy, and the arts. As a would-be "general" historian, he is

1. Op. cit., ed. 1805, III, 81.

2. Op. cit., I, 42-3 (ed. 1786).

always seeking reasons for things, although his analysis would now be regarded as incompetent; and he has a familiar political thesis - the turbulence of Greek democracy and the despotism of Greek tyrants display the beauty of a balanced constitution.¹ Gillies has an endless contempt for barbarism, dropping a tear for the sufferings of Greece in the Peloponnesian War, with the specific addition that the sufferings of barbarians in war, however similar and frequent, are less important.²

(6) Pioneer Social Scientists

This review of Scottish historical work in Sir Walter's formative period now ends with some examples of books which are not histories so much as attempts to examine the historian's results, after the manner of the social scientist. Since pioneers in this study naturally turn first to primitive communities, as displaying the phenomena under investigation in their least complicated form, the most remarkable feature of the books now to be considered is their objective attitude to early cultures; in this respect they stand in sharp contrast to the historians proper, who, as we have seen, normally despised primitives, or in certain cases idealised them. As usual, it is the uninvolved person who can best achieve detachment.

1. Ibid., II, 347.

2. Ibid., I, 511.

Adam Ferguson, of the school of Montesquieu, published an Essay on the History of Civil Society in 1766. Apparently he was less preoccupied with moral philosophy in these days than he became later, for the tone of the Essay is different from that of the late Roman Republic. On the question of primitive society, the Essay attacks the "noble savage" school by pointing out that the "state of nature", so admired by them, is to be found at every stage of social development, and that the same may be said of the "artificialities" opposed by theorists to the supposed original, unsophisticated state of mankind, and regarded by them as a regrettable development.¹ In other words, there is no hard-and-fast dividing line between early and advanced societies. On the other wing, he attacks the prejudice of those who talk about the violence and anarchy of primitive life by arguing that struggle is an essential feature of the life of man, and that too many people in modern society, particularly scholars, are withdrawn from the life of action, to their own impoverishment² - a tinge of ethical theory here, but at any rate Ferguson refused to be shocked by the internecine wars of savage tribes, and on the whole his discussion of primitive society has an anthropological ring. He rejects the tradition which assigns the institutions of so many nations to some ancient law-giver,

1. Op. cit., ed. 1773, p.12.

2. Ibid., 39, 49.

such as Lycurgus, maintaining that the development of national institutions is a blind process.¹

On the Middle Ages, he asserts that a correct picture of mediaeval life is unattainable through the study of the annals of the time, which he holds responsible for the belief that Mediaeval life was drab and uninteresting;² he does not explain how they are to be supplemented, but he is quite sure that the life of mediaeval men was no more barren than anyone else's.

On government, which aroused so much passion in the 17th and 18th Centuries, he remarks that forms of government must vary with the circumstances of each community; that self-government for "the multitude" is sometimes practicable, and sometimes not;³ and that the development of a system must be a matter of trial and error for a long time before it can be reduced to rules.⁴

The objective tone of much of this work is well displayed in this interesting remark: "When the kingdoms of Spain were united, when the great fiefs of France were annexed to the Crown, it was no longer expedient for the nations of Great Britain to continue disjoined."⁵ The sociological tone is not, however, maintained throughout; strangely enough, he believed in Macpherson's Ossian; and proposed an Aristotelian ethical ideal of all-round personal development.

1. Ibid., 205.

2. Ibid., 130 ff.

3. Ibid., 102.

4. Ibid., 105.

5. Ibid., 99.

John Logan, minister of Leith, published in 1781 a slim volume consisting of a set of lecture notes under the title Elements of the philosophy of History; this sounds attractive, but the book is very disappointing. Logan's intentions are good - he condemns the restrictive dominance of classical studies, and demands a science of society which will look deeper than the acts of individual great men; but his commentary on history is very pedestrian. He fails to achieve anything like detachment on primitive society, or on the Eastern monarchies (luxury without refinement, genius without taste¹); he has an idea that the Ancient Egyptians sported a limited monarchy, but for all that his conviction remains unshaken that in Europe, "man hath attained his chief excellence."² So much for him. He did reasonable credit to Sunny Leith, as his tragedy of "Runnymede" is honoured with an allusion, albeit critical, in the Ivanhoe preface.

A very different proposition is John Millar, a law professor in Glasgow, whose books are easily the most "modern" of that period in Scotland. He wrote The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks (1771) and An Historical View of the English Government (1787). The former book analyses the social and economic conditioning of various forms of human relationship - husband-wife, parent-child, citizen-magistrate; the

1. Op. cit., 27.

2. Ibid., 48.

latter is an analytical commentary on early English constitutional history - Millar is, in fact, the pioneer for Hallam.

In studying the social relationships of primitive peoples, Millar drew for his evidence upon a wide range of books - books about American Indians, Asiatic tribes, & African tribes; the classics; the Old Testament - all is fish for his net. He is always seeking explanations in terms of environmental facts, and will not accept moral principles as sufficient; for example, the practice, found among many primitives, of killing off old people past their best, shows, he thinks, that respect for the old is not derived from a "principle of humanity", but from a regard to the useful knowledge they are supposed to possess.¹ The same applies to slavery: Millar bids us notice that at the time when slavery disappeared in Europe, Europeans were introducing the system in the different conditions of the New World. He thinks that marriage, like all social relations, has a natural origin, and that the relations between the sexes are closely connected with property relations, themselves arising out of the division of labour² - adding, however, the following dry footnote to placate the orthodox: "what is here said with regard to marriage ... can only be applied to those who had lost all knowledge of the original

1. Origin (Ed. 1806), 116.

2. Ibid., 156.

institutions which, as the sacred scripture informs us, were communicated to mankind by an extraordinary revelation from heaven."¹ As a theorist, he is very cautious; he doubts the specious proposition that climate determines national character, by pointing out the contrast between Athens and Sparta, China and Japan - pairs of communities only a few miles apart.² The idealist notion of perfect liberty among barbarians is scouted,³ and on the other hand he bids us not to be mortified by the barbarous treatment of women in many primitive societies, since such practices are in keeping with the general harshness of life which their environment entails upon them.⁴ Inter-tribal warfare, in the same way, cannot shock or disgust Millar.⁵

In more advanced societies, he holds, public institutions develop abreast of the general movement of society; feudalism, for example, is not a peculiarly European institution, but originates in the weakness of any kingdom which is merely a confederation of tribes; incompatibility between the size of a kingdom and the immaturity of its general development naturally produces fragmentation into more appropriate units - i.e. fiefs, which take over the chief functions of government.⁶ Millar goes on to explain how in due course the amalgamation of these units and the development of a strong central

1. Ibid., 19.

2. Ibid., 11.

3. Ibid., 240.

4. Ibid., 44.

5. Ibid., 140.

6. Historical View (Ed. 1787), 68.

government takes place, followed by attempts to redistribute power among the branches of the central authority in the interests of a new commercial moneyed class.¹

Unluckily, when he came to expound English constitutional history in the light of these principles, Millar's politics, and the 18th Century view of the ideal government as a balance between the monarchical branch and the popular branch of the constitution, interfered to distort his account. The Tory Hume had thought that the earlier kings of England enjoyed an extensive prerogative; Millar, as a Foxite Whig, cannot allow this, and seeks to show that the prerogatives of Government originally resided in the national assembly,² and that the kings acquired merely a "discretionary power";³ thus fighting hard to establish a distinction without very much difference. None the less, he is tolerably clear about that gradual development of the central government machine which forms such an important feature in the history of civilisation;⁴ he knows that the barons were seeking their own privileges in Magna Carta;⁵ and that burgesses came to Parliament chiefly to bargain with the Crown about taxes.⁶

Millar stumbles at times in the matter of mediaeval religion, expressing a distaste for monasticism ("misguided votaries to

1. Origin, 174-240 (ed. 1806).

2. Historical View, 52, 305.

3. Ibid., 312.

4. Ibid., 269-350.

5. Ibid., 298.

6. Ibid., 405.

mortification"¹), penance, and clerical rapacity; yet he appreciates the connection between the organisation of mediaeval church government and the organisation of the Roman Imperial government,² and understands the social welfare functions of the church³. - He was one of the few who could speak scholarly and wisely about the Old Irish, holding that they possessed "a considerable share of that refinement which is attainable in the pastoral ages,"⁴ and thus achieving a correct balance between the English who despised the Old Irish as savages, and the Irish antiquaries, who made absurd claims for the super-civilisation of ancient Ireland. - Millar had doubts about the Ossianic poems.⁵ - Chivalry, although it arouses his enthusiasm, is seen as tending to improve the advantages enjoyed by the mail-clad warrior over the peasant.⁶

Although Walter Scott was personally known to Ferguson, and although two of his closest friends - Thomson and W. Erskine - were pupils of Millar, he never mentions any of the books in this group. John Millar is mentioned only as the source of a dubious anecdote about Samuel Johnson and Adam Smith.⁷

So much for the historical atmosphere of the generation in which

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1. Ibid., 96.
 2. Ibid., 97.
 3. Ibid., 336.
 4. Ibid., 279.
 5. Origin, 62.
 6. View, 75.
 7. Letters, XI, 115.

Scott grew to maturity. The historians who were writing during his active career - about 1800 to 1832 - can conveniently be classed according as their field lay (1) furth of Scotland, (2) in the Highlands, (3) in Scotland generally.

(1) Furth of Scotland. The Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries and Navigation came out in 1805, written by David Macpherson, editor of Wyntoun and the Rotuli Scotiae, and compiler of a valuable little topographical dictionary of Scotland. In the Annals, Macpherson provides a monumental account of European economic history, from early Oriental antiquity to his own time, including, however, "the most valuable part" of an older book, Anderson's History of Commerce. Half of Macpherson's work treats of the period after 1707. It is strictly annalistic and factual, seeming to betray no prejudice against foreigners, "natives" or priests, although the author does show pride in British commercial and manufacturing pre-eminence.

John Galt, the novelist, published a Life and Administration of Cardinal Wolsey in 1812. It is undistinguished. There are documents at the end; but when one reads that before the Reformation, "civil and military institutions were subordinate to the ecclesiastical,"¹

1. Op. cit., (Ed. 1824) p.1.

one wonders if Galt was really well prepared for his work. This doubt is encouraged by some of the "generalising" comments: Wolsey, it appears, entertained Whig ideas about the supremacy of the people in the constitution¹, and desired to reform the priesthood in the manner of Loyola;² although Galt thinks that statesmen are but the "implicit agents of deep and general predilections previously nourished among the public,"³ yet he sees the Habsburg-Valois struggle as a personal rivalry between Charles V and Francis I,⁴ and says that we owe the English Reformation to the caprice of Henry VIII.⁵

On the "popular" side, there is a good deal of dialogue and speech-making, and a long, tear-jerking account of Wolsey's death, which includes such statements as "the Cardinal beheld for the last time the falling leaf and the setting sun."⁶ This is new; romantic sentimentality is raising its head as it never did in the histories of our first period.

George Brodie was made Historiographer-royal for Scotland in 1836, disappointing P. F. Tytler; but his History of the British Empire from the accession of Charles I to the Restoration (1822), a Whiggish counterblast to David Hume, never attained wide acceptance.

1. Ibid., 97.

2. Ibid., 167.

3. Ibid., 162.

4. Ibid., 34.

5. Ibid., 222.

6. Ibid., 236.

7.

Its heavy party bias is not redeemed by any gift of style or narrative, nor yet by any acuteness in discussion.

A group of books on India and its neighbours calls for brief notice, since they illustrate fresh aspects of Scottish attitudes towards older cultures in our period. In his Account of Caubul (1815), Mountstuart Elphinstone showed a friendly and sober interest in the people of Aghanistan. The same is true of Sir John Malcolm, who produced a History of Persia (1815). While reproducing much matter from the older Persian chronicles, he regrets the absence therein of speculation about historical change;¹ but he realises that this feature can be ascribed to the conditions of the society which produced them. Although he obviously prefers the British Constitution to Persian absolutism, he is not supercilious about it, and knows that the Persian monarchs are subject to practical, if not theoretical and constitutional, limitations. There is a sympathetic account of the Mohammedan religion.² The scope of this history is wide; Malcolm describes government, law, and customs at length in Vol. II. His criticisms of Persia are offered in a matter-of-fact way, and were no doubt reasonably justified. -James Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas (1826) defends the virtues of that nation, which^{le} admitting the existence of "corruption, meanness, and every debasing passion."³

1. Op. cit., I, 276.

2. Ibid., II, 319 ff.

3. Op. cit., I, 24.

These eminent civil servants (especially the first two) were writing about highland nations whose pride, independence of character, and general "toughness" seem to predispose British people in their favour. Even in recent times, the British soldiery in the East has displayed a marked regard for Pathans and Gurkhas. By contrast, a frigid attitude towards the plain-dwelling peoples of India appears early among British administrators. Alexander Tytler, son of the Tytler aforementioned, brother to P. F. Tytler, and a Bengal administrator, wrote in 1815 Considerations on the present political state of India, in which he informs the East India Company's young recruits, before they go out, that there is "a general depravity of manners and a want of all religious and moral principle among the Brahmins and the lower orders of the natives."¹ This thesis is very thoroughly developed. The book is not a history, but it helps to show how inadequate are the persuasive powers of even an eminent scholar, like Robertson, in competition with the practical strain and stress involved in administering a foreign government across a wide cultural gulf. Even John Leyden, whose interests were chiefly academic, displayed some distaste for Indian civilisation in his poetry.²

1. Op. cit., I, 204-5.

2. Vide Legacy of India (G. T. Garratt), p.411.

Another Scottish administrator, John Crawford, wrote inter alia a History of the Indian Archipelago in 1820, arising out of the British occupation of the Dutch East Indies in the Napoleonic Wars. This book has been praised, and no doubt justly, for its value as a vast repository of information about the language, arts, religion, institutions, manners, and customs of that area; but it cannot be called objective. The author speaks of a sickly civilisation,¹ tells atrocity stories about native rulers, speaks of Hindu life as a "perpetual and tiresome routine of ceremonies",² and of the Hindu's "strange and wanton prejudices on the subject of food." (Crawford is also very hostile to the Portuguese and the Dutch, although he praises Spanish rule in the Philippines - they enforced no monopoly of trade there! - and condemns the British attack on Manila in the Seven Years' War.) The paternal mentality of the new colonial age is summed up in his declaration that, admitting the past existence of European exploitation in the East, European superiority has, in his own time, reached such a pitch that humane and generous treatment of the inferior Oriental has become possible.³

Scott speaks appreciatively of Elphinstone and Malcolm, with the latter of whom he was personally friendly; but there seems to be no

1. Op cit., II, 296.

2. Ibid., II, 240.

3. Ibid., II, 392-5.

mention of Crawford.

(2) The Highlands. Highland history begins to emerge from the mists with the work of Donald Gregory, whose Historical Notices of the Clan Gregor (running to 1603), appeared in 1831, with encouragement from Sir Walter Scott to go on.¹ (The larger and still definitive History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland did not appear till 1836, after Scott's death.) Gregory puts romance and tradition aside, whilst acknowledging the service Scott had done in rousing interest in the subject among a wide public; he concentrates on the production of absolutely authentic evidence. One might call him the Hailes of the Highlands. A certain "generalising" turn appears, however, when he attempts to relate the difficulties of the McGregor clan to the policy of the Scottish Crown in the matter of land grants.

Before Gregory inaugurated the new age of Highland historiography, one or two other books of value had appeared. Lord Selkirk's Observations on the present state of the Highlands of Scotland (1805), gives an acute analysis of the economic problems of his own day, which fall outside the scope of this study; but while defending his emigration policy, he also gives some material on Highland society in the patriarchal period.

1. Letters, XII, 23.

David Stewart of Garth's Sketches ... of the Highlanders of Scotland (1821), is propaganda against the policy of emigration; he wishes to show the military importance to the state of preserving a warlike, moral, and hardy population.¹ The book is a regimental history, although it contains some traditional material about Rob Roy and others. Its chief value lies in the inside information it gives about the character and way of thinking of the Highland soldier at the end of the eighteenth century - a picture which is probably reasonably correct for earlier generations as well. When reading Garth's account of the Highland regiments in those days, anyone who is acquainted with the unsophisticated soldiery of colonial countries cannot fail to recognise the perfect authenticity of Stewart's atmosphere. The fact that he was not a visiting anthropologist but a loyal Highland officer speaking about his men, does not reduce, but enhances, the value of his book.

Apart from this, there are one or two stimulating remarks - he claims, for example, that there has been a greater change of property ownership in the Highlands during 40 years of peace than in two centuries of so-called turbulence and anarchy - Millar would have liked this. When he points out that "no less art, sagacity, address and courage have been displayed in the petty contests of illiterate

1. Op. cit., I, 582.

mountaineers than in the most refined scheme of policy,"¹ he raises the interesting question of historical proportion.

(3) Scottish history. It is natural to turn from the Highlands to the Jacobites, most of whose active adherents were drawn thence. Two very different accounts of the "Forty-five" appeared during our present period of 1800-1832. John Home's History of the Rebellion came out in 1802, but it really belongs to a period two generations earlier. Old John (author of Douglas) had been "out" in the "45" himself, though on the Hanoverian side; his history therefore contains many personal recollections, and ranks as a contemporary memoir, which might have been more appropriately noticed under the heading of source publications. He is detached and fair; and gives an interesting appendix of documents. His chief limitation seems to have been his prudential silence about Cumberland's butcherly activities.

Robert Chambers' History of the Rebellion of 1745 (1827), is quite another matter. This book is full of traditional stories about the "45" picked up from local people by the young author, seventy-five years after the event, and thus it makes no austere claims of consistent fidelity to the highest quality of evidence. In relating that Charles Edward, whilst visiting the field of Bannockburn, was

1. Ibid., I, 31.

fired at from Stirling Castle,¹ Chambers makes something of a blunder, since Bannockburn is three miles from Stirling. True, John Home says that some shots from Stirling Castle landed near the Prince, but of course this happened when he was in the immediate vicinity. Chambers goes on to say that a zealous follower of Charles, by way of retaliation, fired a horse-pistol at the battlements; as this detail is not in Home, one suspects that Chambers derived his information not from any of the historians of the "45", but from Waverley, whose admirers will remember how the Laird of Balmawhapple drew fire from the Castle of Stirling and answered by discharging a horse-pistol at the battlements. Suspicion is strengthened by the omission of the story in later editions of Chambers.² After this, it seems unnecessary to pursue Chambers with hue and cry.

He used a "popular" style of the sentimentally romantic type, which has already peeped out in Galt. For Chambers, the Highlands are a "lawless land of romance", and in using that phrase he lets us know that his history dreams on the level of a boys' story of the Wild West. - "With what feelings Charles traversed this venerable domain, whose wild recesses had often sounded to the bugle-horn of his royal ancestors, it is impossible to conjecture."³ - At Prestonpans, "the lightning sword

1. Op. cit., (ed. 1827), I, 91.

2. Vide, e.g., ed. 1869.

3. Op. cit., I, 110, (ed. 1827).

flashed out from the tartan cloud."¹ - Linlithgow Palace is "this beautiful old pile, where many a noble and many a royal heart formerly reposed - where the chivalrous James projected his terrible though hapless inroad upon England, and where his beauteous ~~de~~endant drew her first breath."² This purple writing is a portentous intrusion into our hitherto civilised historical circle. It is true that the older historians could be picturesque; but theirs was the picturesqueness of the contemporary memoirs upon which they were faithfully drawing. Chambers and his like are adding chemicals to the bread, and posting towards the commercial exploitation of emotion. There is nothing like all this, be it said, in Scott's history, and very little even in the novels. When Chambers said he was trying to unite the qualities of history and of the historical novel,³ he was in a way libelling the Waverley novels, as many others have done since and are still doing.⁴

Chambers is utterly ^{pro}per-Jacobite; he credits the party with a pure spirit of loyalty and rectitude, shining the brighter by contrast with the corruption and red tape of the established regime;⁵ the Prince himself is etherealised; the noble and gallant Highlanders are contrasted with the Hanoverian volunteers of Edinburgh ("incapable of fighting", reluctantly drawn from their "comfortable shops and drawing-

1. Ibid., I, 156.

2. Ibid., II, 44.

3. Ibid., I, v.

4. Sad to say, Scott commended Chambers's book (Journal, 430).

5. Op. cit., I, 50, 203.

rooms");¹ and also with the Hanoverian army, that "ghastly spectre of powder, pomatum, blackball, and flagellation,"² commanded by stupid old martinets. (Chambers does at times display a literary gift!) Duncan Forbes of Culloden is exempted from these scornful outpourings upon the Prince's enemies - either because his reputation was felt to be unassailable, or because he furnished a suitable foil to the bold, bad baron, Lord Lovat.³ The political and religious questions involved in the Jacobite movement are almost completely ignored. - It is worth noticing that this book appeared before Scott's very different account of the "45" in Tales of a Grandfather; Herod was out-Heroded in his own time.

Swinging from the right wing to the left, we come to Thomas McCrie, dissenting Presbyterian minister and author of The Life of John Knox (1811), Life of Andrew Melville (1819), and two smaller works on Protestantism in Italy and Spain. His important review of Old Mortality will be noticed at a later stage.

McCrie was a frankly partisan writer; but to read him is to realise the value of partisan history, when written with learning and integrity. None but a partisan writer, perhaps, will ever do real justice to John Knox. - McCrie's knowledge and research have never been questioned, least of all by Scott, whom he attacked, but who mentions his

1. Ibid., I, 84.

2. Ibid., I, 50.

3. Ibid., I, 190-1.

writings with high respect. His account, supplemented by documents, of religion and politics in Scotland in the latter half of the 16th Century, provides a vigorous and reasoned defence of the High Presbyterian party against the hostile trinity of Popery, Prelacy and Erastianism. It is interesting to read, in the Knox Preface, that the Apostle of the Scottish Reformation was discredited even in McCrie's time as a gloomy fanatic, and to learn from McCrie's son, who reissued his father's writings in 1855, that the "Life" had effectively rehabilitated the great man. Possibly it would be more realistic to say that a sceptical age was followed by an evangelical one. - McCrie also makes a stout defence of the Regent Moray, who seems to have shared Knox's unpopularity in death, though not always seeing eye to eye with him in life.

McCrie defends the providential character of the Reformation against David Hume,¹ thus furnishing yet another reminder that Hume, as an avowed rationalist, was one of a group of very premature swallows. One can make too much of this, however, since there is in practice nothing irrational about McCrie's historical work. It is not necessary to be a religious doubter to admit that Providence is frequently invoked in history - the Inexplicable is confidently

1. McCrie, Knox (ed. 1855), 13, 22.

explained - merely for propaganda purposes. What counts is evidence and interpretation, as handled by the detective, the police, and the law-court under general Providential supervision; and here McCrie is not really different from Hume.

One can detect the new age even in McCrie: "At the dead hour of night, when others were asleep ... the sacred volume was brought forth from its concealment; and while one read, the rest listened with minute attention."¹ But this touch is not very typical.

Another dissenting Presbyterian minister, John Jamieson, of Dictionary fame, produced An Historical account of the ancient Culdees of Iona (1811). This work was one of the things that killed Scott's publishing firm of John Ballantyne & Co., so perhaps Scott should share in the credit, or responsibility, of the publication. On the re-opening of the Continent in 1814 Scott sent a parcel of books to Jacob Grimm, including this one, which he describes as curious and learned, though somewhat "professional" - a typical Scott description for a heavy work.² Apparently Scott found "the good doctor" something of a bore in conversation as well.³ This in itself need not detract from the academic value of Jamieson's work, and one dare not impugn his learning; all the same, it does seem that his Culdees was

1. Ibid., p.16.

2. Letters, III, 437.

3. Journal, 206.

decidedly out of date even at the time of publication, being a late contribution to the 17th Century controversy about the constitution and doctrine of the early Church in Britain. The combatants took advantage of the scarcity of evidence about the church in the Dark Age to let loose a flood of propagandist speculation. Jamieson maintains the old argument, against the Papists that the Culdees had Protestant and national learnings, and against the Prelatists that they were equalitarian. Divine Providence preserved truth throughout the Dark Age, since the Culdees survived to within a few years of the Lollards;¹ the Church "superintendents" of 1560 were modelled on the Culdee college of Iona. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the book is unhistorical; certainly, it is a far cry thence to Hailes' Annals - or to Chalmers' Caledonia.

George Chalmers is at first sight a most unpromising subject. Whilst displaying less than the average amount of group prejudice, his personal hostilities are envenomed, and his partialities extreme. His Life of Mary Queen of Scots (1818) is a defence of that interesting person, and a flagellation of her enemies, so inveterate as to recall Gilbert Stuart, although done with infinitely more learning and research. The Bothwell marriage, always a stumbling-block to her "fans", is explained as a wicked contrivance of the Earl of Moray;²

1. Op. cit., 322.

2. Op. cit., I, 195.

so here we have at least one person unconverted by McCrie's recent Knox. Much worse than this Mary-fixation, however, is Chalmers' bad habit of pursuing his fellow-historians with loud cries on practically every page, sparing none, and generally creating a bad impression which his childish vanity does nothing to remove.

Yet there is no denying that Vol. I of his Caledonia (1807), presents for the first time the essentials of that view of racial and linguistic movements in Dark Age Scotland which prevails today. Scots from Ireland, Picts speaking a Celtic ["Cambro-British"] language,¹ Welsh in Strathclyde, Anglian penetration from the south bringing the English language into Scotland, Scandinavian settlements in the North and West chiefly from the 9th Century, and the spread of Gaelic over all South Scotland during the two centuries preceding the Norman infiltration - it is all here,² offering a wonderful contrast to the speculations of most older writers up to and including Pinkerton. Chalmers' archaeology is, of course, unacceptable, as he lived at a time when people were still finding "Roman" remains wherever they went; but his philology is a different matter. Much of the evidence for his theories is linguistic, of a kind which Hailes never touched, and although it would be rash to rank him with modern philologists, he

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1. The theory that the Picts also preserved a pre-Indo-European language is, of course, modern. See Caledonia, I, 214.
 2. Caledonia, Vol. I, Book III.

knew a great deal more than Pinkerton, who maintained for example that the prefix "aber" in place-names was the German (and therefore Gothic) word "über."¹

One can find traces of prejudice here and there; on the basis of place-name evidence, he calls the Angles unimaginative as compared with the Celts.² Yet he refuses to accept the Irish Antiquaries' claims for the opulence and refinement of Dark Age Ireland, pointing to the evidence of their laws, all about bees and cattle.³ On the whole, it seems reasonable to say that Chalmers, working on the Dark Age, was too interested in the evidence and its interpretation to worry much about his own emotional reaction to it.⁴

Volumes II and III of the Caledonia (published 1810 and 1824) contain an unfinished topographical and historical review of the various counties of Scotland (the northern counties were never written up). Although Scott found Vol. II less interesting than Vol. I,⁵ there is no doubt that they constitute what is known as a veritable treasure-house of information. They raise the question of Scottish local and family history; in addition to Caledonia, our period of 1750-1832 saw the appearance of Sir Robert Douglas' Peerage and Baronage, Wood's revision of the Peerage, a variety of individual family, local, and county

1. Enquiry, I, 148 (ed. 1789).

2. Caledonia, I, 218 ff.

3. Ibid., I, 309.

4. Of his numerous earlier books, the most important is Political Annals of the Present United Colonies etc. (1780), still valued for its research.

5. Letters, II, 304.

histories, and the famous First Statistical Account; the whole constituting a body of historically valuable material which is, however, too bulky and too various to lend itself readily to the kind of brief summary review attempted here. One would wish to eschew mere lists of titles. - Yet the exceptional position of Edinburgh may justify at least a mention of the valuable histories by Maitland (1753) and Arnott (1779).

It is a pleasure to be able to end this chapter with an account of one of the great general histories of Scotland, that of Patrick Fraser Tytler, which came out at intervals between 1828 and 1841, and covers the years 1249-1603.

In compiling this monumental work, Tytler did not fail to make use of the many valuable source publications which were coming out in his day and which have already been discussed. Thomas Thomson's numerous productions; the Rotuli Scotiae; Pitcairn's Trials; the Sadler Papers; the Diurnal of Occurrents - these and others are cited. But in addition, Tytler did much personal searching among the records, particularly in London, where he spent many winters for the purpose. Some of this material is appended to his history.

The use of evidence even in the 1830's was old-fashioned in one or two respects; James IV's supernatural visitation at Linlithgow in 1513 is still accepted as a piece of human contrivance; so is the spectral appearance which disturbed the revels at Alexander III's second marriage.

There is, still, more direct-speech reporting of mediaeval personages than is found in the modern type of history, and the character-sketches of kings are rather more confidently detailed. But modern readers will be impressed, as Sir Walter Scott was, by Tytler's correction of the Melrose Chronicle regarding the date of the Battle of Largs, in the light of the Norwegian account, which mentions an eclipse of the sun; thus permitting the clear and certain light of the exact sciences to illuminate history's dark corners.¹

There is a long review of the institutions, social life, and so on, of early Scotland; but otherwise the book is concerned throughout with politics, war, and religion. Tytler makes no attempt to follow Robert Henry's policy, or to interrupt his narrative with Retrospects in the manner of Pinkerton. In this respect it is likely that he did well. By concentrating on the political history, he left succeeding generations free to concentrate in their turn on other things; modern advocates of economic and social history studies may not always appreciate that they are in a sense forced into these new fields, because their predecessors have left little to be done in the older branches beyond the correction of details, and the reinterpretation called for by each new age.

As a "general" historian, Tytler was very active in analysing and interpreting his material; on the minority of James V and the active

1. Op. cit., (ed. 1845), I, 40.

reign of James VI, for example, both tangles of party and faction, and therefore both good test cases, he shows a high gift for luminous exposition where many people are found wanting. He expounds a new, more favourable view of James III in his later years. He sees James VI building up a middle or Crown party between the two extremes of the Kirk and the Catholics. The Darnley and Gowrie affairs are discussed at length and new, interesting ideas put forward. In treating the enigmatical Queen, ~~he~~ deserted the position of his father and grandfather - both Mary-men - though without proceeding to the other extreme; he dates her pro-Catholic intentions only from the period just after the Darnley marriage, and denies legal proof of complicity in Darnley's murder, while accepting as moral proof her uncharacteristic inactivity after the deed, and of course the Bothwell marriage. Although it must be admitted that there is an incisiveness about the 18th Century discussion of such topics which seems to be absent in the 19th, that is probably largely a matter of English style. Victorian novels also tend to lack the "bite" of their predecessors.

The ethical attitude towards the actions of individuals persists in Tytler, however, and lends another old-fashioned flavour to much of the narrative. One notices this without necessarily condemning it; when a historian in the 20th Century, the age of mass-murder, remarks that the Reign of Terror was after all only an incident in a vast process of

economic and social change, one realises that the ethical standpoint may have social value.

The exceptionally large scale of this book permits the author to be as "popular" as he likes, and accordingly we have full accounts of all the famous battles and murders, together with many things passed over by his immediate predecessors, such as the Mary-Knox interviews. There is a good deal of adventure from Barbour's Bruce-much more than Hailes allowed; We have the episode of Bruce's Irish Washerwoman; but not the spider of popular tradition. Tytler's book ends in an instructively different way from Robertson's; he describes James VI's ominous departure from Edinburgh in 1603 - his meeting with the funeral procession of Lord Seton - and ends his history on a note of national and personal sadness quite foreign to the intellectual atmosphere of Robertson and his generation.

The new, romantic style of narrative is in evidence, though less offensively than in Chambers. We are told that when King Haco set out in 1263 for Scotland, "innumerable flags and pennons flaunted in the breeze, the decks were crowded with knights and soldiers, whose armour glittered in the sun,"; we learn that after the Largs disaster, his "bitter disappointment" "sunk deep into his heart"; and this tone recurs throughout. We have here an example of the efforts of the romantic school to recreate the personal experiences and feelings of individuals.

Tytler's attitudes show no basic novelty. The Highlanders, from beginning to end, are savages. Speaking of the bard's recitation of Alexander III's genealogy at his coronation, Tytler says, "It is difficult to believe that even in these days of credulity, the nobility could digest the absurdities of this savage genealogist."¹ Highland ferocity is made to contrast very unfavourably with the ideals and practice of chivalry.² Referring to a gentleman from the Western Isles at the end of the 16th Century, Tytler states that "the moment his foot touched the heather, the gay courtier became a rampant and blood-bolstered savage."³

The Middle Ages in general are regarded as uncivilised and the state of the country lamentable; even when discussing the Gowrie Conspiracy, Tytler can still speak of "those dark days", when the passion for revenge was almost the pulse of life.⁴ But at least there is no Whiggish inclination to push Parliamentary origins farther back than the facts warrant, and idealise the liberties of our mediaeval ancestors. - He is kind to the mediaeval church on account of its patriotic record,⁵ but his account of the Reformation has that powerful martyrological odour so noticeably absent in Robertson. The usual difficulty of reconciling pro-Protestant and anti-English feeling is

1. Ibid., I, 23.
2. Ibid., II, 385 ff.
3. Ibid., VII, 372.
4. Ibid., VII, 393.
5. Ibid., II, 225-6.

abundantly evident. It is well-known that Tytler saw an episcopal tendency in the 1560 Reformation, confirmed in 1572;¹ but he was favourable to Knox, praising his unique honesty of purpose, though with reservations about his rigidity in politics. On Queen Mary, his treatment shows the familiar uneasy balance between hostility to Rome and partiality to the woman.

The last feature of Tytler's book to be discussed has already been hinted at - he displays strong national feeling, as did many a Scot before him, but with the heightened, religious tone characteristic of the 19th Century. For the first time, we read of "the holy spirit of freedom,"² and the "sacred cause of national liberty". On the dark year 1303 he says, "The historian must follow in dejection the chariot-wheels of the conqueror, and hear them crushing under their iron weight all that was free and brave in a devoted country."³ He is very critical of the numerous Scottish nobles in many periods who were in alliance with England, emphasising their disloyalty as much as their particularist jealousy of the growing central government. He cannot despise David II enough for his English partialities.⁴ Lord Hailes is criticised for concealing the full extent of the cunning and ambition of the English king Henry III in his dealings with Alexander III

1. Ibid., VI, 199, 302.

2. Ibid., II, 273.

3. Ibid., I, 118.

4. Ibid., II, 102-4.

and, as we have seen, for preferring English sources to Scottish.¹ Tytler accepts Pinkerton's theory that the Pictish language was Gothic, because he wanted to believe in a native origin for Scottish English;² to bring it south from Pictland rather than north from Northumbria. This is perhaps rather reprehensible, as Caledonia had been in print for twenty years, and had convinced that ardent patriot Sir Walter Scott.³ Scott, however, was responsible⁴ for misleading Tytler into the contention that English literature originated in Scotland.

Tytler wrote other books during Scott's life-time - Life of ... the Admirable Crichton (1819), a life of Sir Thomas Craig the feudal lawyer (1823) and Lives of Scottish Worthies (1831-33), which latter was honoured by Scott with a reference in his "magnum opus."⁵ But these appear to have been quite overshadowed by his great work.

This chapter began with a summary of the characteristics of Scottish historiography between about 1750 and 1832. At this point, attention is invited again to that summary, which, it is hoped, has been borne out by the detailed evidence presented from the works of the historians themselves. It remains to be shown how Walter Scott himself fitted into the pattern of the period.

1. Ibid., I, 467-469.

2. Ibid., II, 247.

3. Border Antiquities, 26.

4. Sir Tristrem, p.50-70.

5. Canongate, 294.

(ii) Scott's opinions on the writing of history.

Sir Walter Scott was the last man one could expect to systematise his ideas and write a treatise on the historian's task. Inevitably, however, he touches on the subject frequently in the course of his voluminous writings, and it is possible to extract from them a surprisingly comprehensive and consistent body of doctrine.

The basic virtue of accuracy was prized in theory by our author, who could be quite severe at times on those who conspicuously failed to practise it. Speaking of what French historians wrote about Britain, he says "From Froissart to the present day, their works are full of errors which can only arise from their not esteeming the truth of any importance. Varillius, for example, in his history of heresy, has (besides producing a King Stephen the Second, hitherto a stranger to our annals), made some of the most notable blunders with respect to times, places, dates, and names, that even disgraced a book with history in its title page."¹ This is quite explicit.

At times, Scott's devotion to correctness might seem to be inspired by expediency; his review of Kirkton's Church History, for example, had to be accurate on facts in case the Whigs and the "godly" should take advantage of a Tory slip of memory;² and similarly, in

1. Swift, IV, 208.

2. Letters, IV, 508.

the preparation of material for the Bannatyne Club, "to be inaccurate would be the very devil."¹ But a higher sense of professional integrity was aroused when Monck Mason proposed to challenge Scott's views on Swift's relationship to Stella, and an Irish friend of Scott's wished to deny Mason access to some important Swift papers. "It is the interest of literary men of all descriptions to promote free investigation by any means in their power - it is the most honourable attribute of their character." - "That which is not founded on truth cannot stand."² Scott himself sent Mason a Swift MS., which, incidentally, Mason lost.³

Scott had a good deal to say about various types of source material; and his views on these, besides illustrating his capacity for evaluation, will also indicate clearly his opinions about the scope of historical writing, and his attitude to the "general versus popular" question.

There is a sound feeling for the value of the private papers of official persons, in the remark that public documents give "no access to those hidden causes of events which time brings forth", because they often contain "rather the colourable pretexts which

1. Letters, VIII, 386.

2. Letters, IV, 133.

3. Swift Memoir, 414 n.

statesmen ^{are} ~~and~~ pleased to assign for their actions, than the real motives themselves."¹

Contemporary and sub-contemporary sources are valued even when factually inaccurate, because they are an infallible guide to the mental atmosphere of a period or of a given class. On Patrick Walker, the Covenanting hagiologist, Scott says, "It is from such tracts as these, written in the sense, feeling, and spirit of the sect, and not from the sophisticated narratives of a later period, that the real character of the persecuted class is to be gathered."² Welcoming the publication of an anonymous English journal of the 15th Century, he says, "it is in such minute details rather than in the generalities of ordinary history, that we discover those minute traces by which the peculiar habits of our ancestors may be traced and recognised."³

Scott had a special favour for family histories, for the same reasons; we have already seen that he himself edited the Somerville family history. In his introduction to that work, he admitted its inaccuracy, but defended it with the very emphatic statement that "the manners of former times are at least as legitimate objects of curiosity as the precise detail and dates of historical events." His zeal for this type of material was not abated by his consciousness of its

1. Lives, I, 153.

2. Heart of Midlothian, I, 454.

3. Letters, XI, 85.

containing much useless lumber; Sir Robert Gordon's book on the Sutherland earls, for example, offered so much information about the manners of former times that we should not complain of a little labour in getting at it.¹

There are clear indications that pedigrees could bore Scott; "genealogical deductions are the keys of history and often its touchstone", said he roundly,² but he modified his position elsewhere. There is a passage in Waverley where he maintains that family tradition and genealogy is the reverse of amber: amber is a valuable substance containing rubbish in the form of dead flies and straws, whereas genealogical studies, in themselves rubbish, may contain traces of valuable matter.³ In his Journal, he confesses to having no head for genealogy, valuing it only as interspersed with anecdote.⁴ Some idea of what Scott meant by flies and straws may be gathered from a note in his Memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler:⁵ "Some of the minute intelligence so dear to modern antiquaries may be gained from this gossiping business; as, 1st, that Sadler had a former son who died an infant; 2ndly we may conclude Lady Weston was either a widow or an old woman.... lastly, that Mr. Sadler had not very well determined at what hour to christen his child, for he has first written "morning" and afterwards "afternoon."

1. Letters, III, 227.

2. Letters, I, 234.

3. Waverley, I, 189.

4. Journal, 508; see also Journal, 128 and Letters, XI, 431.

5. Sadler Mem., p.76.

But in addition to all this valuable information, the letter shows his connexion with Cromwell, and the superstition which it commemorates is a singular one."

It seems reasonable to conclude that Scott retained a strong preference for any material which threw light on great persons and great events - an old-fashioned taste. His other, perhaps more modern, preference was for that which pointed a contrast between the life of the present and that of the past; whatever might happen in any undistinguished circle at any time, is rejected, but the "peculiar" habits of our ancestors are to be studied. In this matter, no doubt, the artist and the scientific historian are in agreement to a great extent, but Scott enjoys contrasts for their own sake, rather than as subjects of inquiry. One remembers his comparison between Rob Roy and the contemporary Augustan wits further south¹ and a host of other things in his novels.

The old-fashioned interest in great events and great persons appears unmistakeably in Scott's dealings with his own family history. He boasted of a distant connection with a warrior who fought at Otterburn;² that his great-grandfather was "out" with Dundee and Mar,³ and that several 17th Century ancestors "made some figure", and bore

1. Rob Roy, I, 64.

2. Letters, III, 80.

3. Letters, I, 342.

the title of Sir Walter Scott.¹ Accordingly, when he came to decorate Abbotsford with the coats-of-arms of his ancestors, he was able without difficulty to trace his father's Scott pedigree; but when he sought his mother's Rutherford ancestors, he could go no further back than the end of the 17th Century, at which period they were obviously rather obscure citizens. "My poor mother has often told me about it but it was to regardless ears."² In the end the untraced links had to be indicated by clouds painted on their shields. It seems, then, that Lockhart rather exaggerates Scott's devotion to his family and clan,³ strong as it undoubtedly was. In the mind of Scott's mother, the family or clan retained enough of its ancient social primacy to induce her to learn family trees for their own sake; but her son's world was larger.

Obviously, then, mere scandal could not interest Scott, and he wondered at C. K. Sharpe for being "curious after scandal centuries old."⁴

Local history and associations provide a kindred field for the historian; but here again Scott inveighs against the "petty and puerile" stuff⁵ to which local antiquarian societies commonly devote themselves.

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1. Letters, V, 263; VIII, 221; XI, 6.
 2. Letters, VIII, 221, 234.
 3. Lockhart, V, 433-5.
 4. Journal, 3.
 5. Letters, XI, 52.

He does not have much time for the English clergyman who wants to write the history of his obscure parish,¹ but he praises as worth while an object of research like the local detail of the mysterious Gowrie conspiracy.²

As a lawyer, Scott could not fail to appreciate the historical value of criminal trials; reviewing Pitcairn's collection,³ he speaks of the "ipsissima verba, the actual words spoken during the conspiring and the acting of these horrid things", displaying once more a taste both artistic and scientific.

He frequently declared that old poetry, plays, and romances provided valuable materials ignored by general historians. Poets, said Scott, were the first historians of all nations, and although the poet's imagination and the passage of time could play havoc with the facts, poetical tradition might none the less be proved to have remained, not infrequently, faithful to the original occurrence. The chief merit of such material, however, resides not in the factual information it conveys, which can never be accepted without corroboration, but in the account it gives of the way of life and thought of the period which produced it, if not of the period it purports to describe.

Annals tell us what people did; poetry tells us what they were. The

1. Letters, VII, 126.

2. Letters, XI, 52.

3. Review of Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 226 (Prose Works, XXI).

direction of Scott's taste is plainly indicated when he says that the mediaeval metrical romances have taught us more about the domestic habits, language, and character of the middle age than Leland and Hearne were able to attain from all the "dull and dreary monastic annals which their industry collected and their patience perused."¹ The information to be derived from such material as the romances may sometimes be of quite a solid and serious character; the laws and customs of knighthood, for example, may be deduced from the romances of chivalry, and the laws, even the religion, of savages may be deduced from their ballad poetry. Scott goes so far as to maintain that a history of Scotland could be compiled from ballads and similar material, although he does describe the hypothetical result as "very curious."

The views just outlined may be found in Minstrelsy, I, 14, 40, 213; Bridal of Triermain 5; Essay on Chivalry, 8 (n); Essay on Romance, especially pp. 135, 138, 171-6, 185-6; Review of Ellis' Romances 17-18; Review of Southey's Amadis, 38, 'Memoir of Bannatyne'² 84; Letters, I, 267 - and elsewhere. We are dealing here with one of Scott's favourite tenets: another favourite and kindred topic is the value of oral (and written) tradition.

Ever since he listened to tales of the old Border wars as a child

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1. Review of Ellis' Romances, 17. (Prose Works, XVII).
 2. Misc. Prose Works, XXX.

at Smailholm,¹ Scott had been a devotee of popular oral tradition. He had it from many sources, chiefly perhaps his mother, his grand-aunt Mrs. Swinton, and family friends like Mrs. Murray Keith² (alias "Mrs. Bethune Balliol"); but local traditions preserved by the peasantry reached him from more than one district in Scotland, as for example the traditions of Rob Roy on Loch Lomond side.³ The little chapbooks which he collected so enthusiastically in youth⁴ would provide similar material. Scott was always sorry, as he jestingly remarked in the Introductory Epistle to The Monastery,⁵ when scholars like Thomson demolished his beloved traditions; but he comforted himself with the thought that although yesterday's history becomes fable today, "the truth of today is hatched into a lie by tomorrow." (He drops this suggestive remark without following it up, as was his custom). In the same spirit, he regretted the only too strong probability that Moscow was burned in 1812 merely by accident.⁶ On at least one occasion, he appealed to tradition against the authority of official records; speaking of the Vehmic courts in Germany, he says "It may be allowed to me to question whether the mere protocols of such tribunals are quite enough to annul all the import of tradition

1. Marmion, 136-8.

2. Canongate, I, 166.

3. Letters, I, 235, 247.

4. Letters, XI, 342.

5. Monastery, I, 41.

6. Life of Napoleon, VII, 119.

respecting them."¹ He thought there must be some truth behind popular legends about monsters, particularly those inhabiting lochs;² he doubted Horace Walpole's doubts about the character of Richard III, on account of the strength of popular tradition about it (Journal, 326); he pointed out that some traditional lore at least has the interest of high antiquity, since Celtic tales have survived in areas long settled by other races.³ The dwarfs of Scandinavian mythology might, he thought, represent the aboriginal Finns after their retreat to the mountains before the advancing Teutons.⁴

Scott fully appreciated, of course, the mingling of truth and falsehood in tradition; sometimes it was the worst of evidence, but on the other hand it might be the best, and he was at pains to emphasise the latter part of the proposition. Lord Hailes' professional scepticism had sometimes, Scott felt, carried him too far.⁵ We may talk of the credulous vulgar, says Mrs. Balliol, but there is also such a thing as vulgar incredulity;⁶ the sceptic may deny merely because he does not understand, or is too lazy to examine the evidence. We should not be deterred by the fact that a local connoisseur in the South of France undertakes to show the scene of a battle between the Romans and the Saracens; even if he is wrong about names and dates,

1. Anne of Geierstein, I, 7.

2. Letters, II, 317; IV, 127, 145; IX, 95; X, 243.

3. Sir Tristrem, 27.

4. Minstrelsy, II, 256.

5. Review, Tytler's History, p.196.

6. Fair Maid, XI, 22.

other features of his narrative may well bear the stamp of authenticity,¹ particularly in the local detail. For "Saracens" read "Germanic tribes", and all is perhaps well. Even a tradition which cannot be accepted in any part as having a basis in fact, may have another kind of historical value. Thomas the Rhymer predicted that the 16th of March, 1286, would be the stormiest day ever seen in Scotland; when the day came, the weather was fine, but King Alexander III was killed. This story is no doubt false; but it is true, in that it expresses popular feeling in Scotland about that calamitous event.²

The principle that the earlier version of a story is probably nearer the truth is demonstrated by Scott in his notes to Don Roderick, where he gives the legend on which his poem is founded in two versions: an early, simple form, and a later, embellished one.³ In a recent Historical Association booklet, Common Errors in Scottish History (1956), Mr. H. M. P[aton] shows in some detail⁴ how an Earl of Sutherland, said to be the first man who signed the National Covenant in 1638, was converted in easy stages by 19th Century Covenanting hagiologists from a young man in his twenties to an aged and venerable nobleman; or in other words to a symbol for the Victorian evangelical attitude towards the Covenant. The worthy Mr. Skriegh, and other lovers of the

1. Anne of Geierstein, II, 241-2.

2. Grandfather, XI, 66.

3. Vision of Don Roderick, 429-32.

4. Op. cit., p.26.

marvellous, had already demonstrated the operation of this process in fiction; in their hands, Guy Mannering, a young man fresh from the University when he made his first visit to Ellangowan, became in the course of twenty years' narrative over noggins, an ancient man, strangely habited, with a long grey beard.¹ Scott liked tradition, but he understood the need to interpret it. It seems likely in fact that he was never quite easy in his mind about it until some sort of corroboration emerged, as when Hume of Godscroft's story about James III's "black kist" was confirmed by an Inventory of the Royal Wardrobe, published by Thomas Thomson.²

Some idea of Scott's views on the scope of modern historical writing may be gathered from a passage in his letters,³ in which he gives his recipe for a Highland history. Such a work must give a general view of "the patriarchal government;" an account of the principal clans and their genealogies, and their "engagements with each other;" an account of the relationships between the Highlands as a whole and other countries, particularly Ireland, the Lowlands, and England; an account of the domestic life, manners, and habits of thinking of the Highlanders; and finally an account of their legends, poetry, and music, illustrated by an anthology of genuine specimens.

1. Guy Mannering, I, 173.

2. Lord of the Isles, 332.

3. Letters, III, 116.

Scott refers in this connection to his own work on the Border legends, thus indicating his view that the Minstrelsy was a contribution to the history of Scotland. Domestic history, foreign affairs, social organisation, social life, and the arts - here is a comprehensive plan, strongly reminiscent of the scheme of Robert Henry.

When Scott comes to discuss the question of "general" history as against "popular", we find, quite naturally, that the successor of Hume, Robertson, and the rest cannot be content, in theory at least, with the older historical style which concerned itself with narrative, personalities, and anecdotes, without analysis, probing into cause and effect, trying to see particular events as the product of the operation of general factors. "Have you seen Lord Orford's history of his own time - it is acid and lively but serves I think to show how little those who live in public business and of course in constant agitation and intrigue know about the real and deep progress of opinions and events."¹ When canvassing Peel on behalf of Thomas Thomson, Scott described Thomson as an outstanding antiquary in the widest sense of that word "implying a complete and philosophical acquaintance with history in all its branches, laws, customs and manners and the power of combining these different points of information and deducing the results

L. Letters, VII, 98.

with truth and accuracy."¹

This tone, however, is not always maintained. "Laing's generalising makes him rather dull" said Scott in his Journal,² indicating his personal preferences clearly enough, as opposed to his official doctrines. Referring to his proposed Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, he said "I am not very philosophical and will have some difficulty in arranging my ideas on the subject." In fact, this book cost him agonies to write, in spite of his life-long and intense interest in the subject, and it seems to show that the organisation of material in support of a theory was not his forte. Much of what has already been said above about Scott's attitudes to various types of historical matter shows quite plainly that while he admitted the claims of the "generalising" approach to history, he was not likely to emulate men like Hume and P. F. Tytler, whose "generalising" is quite as outstanding as their contribution to "popular" history.

Accordingly, we are not surprised to read, at the beginning of Napoleon³: "history ... will be written and read in vain, unless it can connect with its details an accurate idea of the impression which these produced on men's minds while they were yet in their transit." Here speaks the "romantic" historian, who wishes the reader to re-live the past, valuing the emotional experience at least as highly as the

1. Letters, X, 363.

2. p.378.

3. Life of Napoleon, I, 2.

intellectual exercise of analysis and commentary. There is obviously nothing really new in this; the "romantic" historian is the old "popular" historian over again, interested chiefly in individual people, and the novelty is restricted to that heightened emotional tone, so characteristic of the 19th Century, and related (presumably) to the awareness of a rapidly widening gulf between the Industrial Age and everything that went before it. How far Scott shared this heightened tone is an interesting question for a later section.

The recipe for historical vividness is the liberal employment of minute detail about individual life in the past, about which something has already been said. John Wenlocke's Humble Declaration to ... Charles II (1662) is praised by Scott because it "lets you at once into all the minute and domestic concerns of a period so interesting."¹ Reviewing Johnes' translation of Froissart, he says: "The simple fact that a great battle was won or lost makes little impression on our mind, as it occurs in the dry pages of an annalist, while our imagination and attention are alike excited by the detailed description of a much more trifling event."² On this account, he goes on to say, Froissart is "the most entertaining and perhaps the most valuable historian of the

1. Letters, VII, 68.

2. Review of Johnes' Froissart, p.113 (Prose Wks XIX).

Middle Ages." On the Highlanders, he tells his grandson "you will learn better the character of that primitive race of men from personal anecdotes, than from details of obscure and petty contests, fought at places with unpronounceable names."¹ People are more readily interested, says Scott, in individual history and virtue than in the fate of armies or kingdoms,² and it is unfortunate that "nice traits of character" are so often "lost in general history."³ Minuteness may be not only a guarantee of popularity, but also of authenticity, as in the case of Capt. Maitland's narrative of Napoleon's reception aboard the Bellerophon, which Scott would on no account alter or abridge.⁴ At the same time, there may be a necessity for selection, in order to avoid dullness,⁵ and the ability to make such a selection is an important part of the historian's equipment: Scott's views on the principles of selection have already been mentioned.

Coming to Scott's estimate of himself as a historian, we find that he makes no claims in the field of the generaliser, but fully appreciates his own gift as a writer of "popular" history; it is interesting to note that he takes up rather a defensive attitude in this matter, feeling perhaps that generalising had come to stay although he could not provide it. Admitting that his Napoleon will be

1. Grandfather, III, 114.
2. Bridal of Triermain, pp.12-13.
3. Lord of the Isles, 162.
4. Journal, 130.
5. Journal, 462.

popular and superficial, he says, "better a superficial book which brings well and strikingly together the known and acknowledged facts, than a dull boring narrative, pausing to see further into a millstone at every moment than the nature of the millstone admits."¹ When he condemns "the vulgar opinion that the flattest and dullest mode of detailing events must uniformly be that which approaches nearest to the truth,"² he shows an awareness of the temptation which always besets a popular narrator and might well be indirectly rebutting a charge against himself. Writing to Constable about the book which ultimately became Tales of a Grandfather, Scott said that it would take ten years to write a worthy history of Scotland, and that his own proposal was merely for a "rapid and animated sketch", with no "great depth of research and discussion of the disputed points."³ History, he says, is too grave a name to give to such a book. In this case, Scott's modesty resigns, not only the credit of the generaliser, but also the credit of the researcher, and even the very title of historian. His only unqualified claim is to the ability to select the striking and the interesting⁴ from a mass of dull detail, as would be needed for example, in compiling a volume of causes célèbres.⁵

1. Journal, 53.

2. Review, Tytler's History, 181 (Prose Wks., XXI).

3. Letters, IV, 280.

4. Journal, 462.

5. Letters, III, 116.

Sir Walter was emphatic about the necessity for fairness and impartiality in the historian. On the level of expediency, "ultra writing only disgusts people."¹ On a higher level, Swift's account of the last four years of Queen Anne does not deserve to be called history, being written with the feelings and prejudices of a party writer, and being therefore no better than an ordinary party pamphlet.² Froissart is given the praise of "the most unblemished impartiality" as between France and other states,³ but Southey's Peninsular War, though very good, has "many prejudices."⁴ Admitting that no one likes to have his feelings put in arms against the cause of his own country, Scott maintains that none the less the historian must do his duty if such a painful case arises.⁵ His contention that the historian of Napoleon should regard his subject as being on trial and himself as a juryman shows at least the wish to be fair, although it betrays also his basic national hostility.⁶ Another type of prejudice, which we have already seen was rampant in his time, is condemned when he says that we must not judge the feelings of a rude age by those of a modern one.⁷

Although the question of history in education is not strictly relevant here, one or two of Scott's remarks are interesting enough to be

1. Letters, X, 183.

2. Swift Memoir, 436.

3. Review of Johnes' Froissart, 127 (Prose Wks., XIX).

4. Journal, 250. 5. Reviews, Gertrude of Wyoming, 271 (Prose Wks.,
 YVTTT) 6. Letters, X, 238. 7. Grandfather, VII, 108.

appended to this section. He was no more given to theorising in this field than in any other, and even the old argument about learning to understand the present by studying the past appears only through a curious concrete example; the young Duke of Buccleuch, he says, as a member of the governing class, should read history so that he may be chary of taking up with Whig and Radical notions.¹ Scott here regards the history school as a conservative nursery.

His remarks on curriculum are interesting though sketchy. By way of preliminary, visits to places of historical interest are strongly recommended, together with the extensive presentation of pictures and prints so that interest in history may be aroused in every possible way.² Once interest is aroused, the outline of the story should be learned from a modern book, then old chronicles should be resorted to for "illustrations of such facts as are told with more naïveté and piquancy of detail by contemporaries." All this is good doctrine; Of course Scott had no concern with the problems which arise when the class numbers more than a tiny group, nor yet with the questions raised by the examination system. It is interesting to note that he had a horror of the task-work which, for him as for others since, constituted his first formal experience of the subject.

1. Letters, VIII, 47.

2. Letters, VIII, 103-5, 444; X, 440.

(iii) The Catalogue of Scott's historical writings.

It is not proposed in this study to offer summaries or critiques of each individual book or article on history written by Sir Walter Scott; the aim is rather to discuss Scott's qualities as a historian under a number of topical headings. The present section, therefore, may be forgiven for being merely a preliminary catalogue, with brief remarks. Exceptionally, however, a somewhat fuller notice is given here of the "Lardner" History of Scotland, on account of its anomalous character.

Although the attempt has been made in this essay to separate Scott's work on source material from his writing of history, such a separation can hardly be made complete, because the outstanding feature of Scott's editions of texts is the annotation and the introductions, which constitute historical writing of quite an important kind. This fact may remind us, that it is not quite correct to assert, as some have done, that Scott took to writing history only when all else failed. For "history" read "extended historical composition", and we are on better ground, since the Napoleon of 1825-7 is, indeed, Scott's first extended historical work; but his introductions and notes go back to the beginning of the 19th Century.

Our catalogue begins, then, with the apparatus provided by Scott for literary and historical texts, for his own narrative poems, and for

his novels. The illustration of the novels is the best known, though probably the least impressive, and was undertaken late in life, for the magnum opus, i.e. the collected edition of the novels whose publication began in 1829. The notes to the poems were written at the time of their composition; the introductions to the poems are late, and being largely autobiographical are irrelevant here - with the exception of an original introduction to The Bridal of Triermain. Scott's work on the editing of texts, literary and historical, has already been discussed. He was apt, when writing at length, to submerge many of the hard facts of history in the ^{comfortable} ~~bland~~ syrup of his narrative style; but his annotation contains a large amount of very solid information.

The novels themselves contain much incidental historical disquisition, such as the first chapter of A Legend of Montrose, which describes the political situation in Scotland in 1644; there are also, inevitably, many odd paragraphs or even single sentences which cannot be regarded as part and parcel of the fiction, but are really historical comment or explanation by the author. Some of these are quoted in this essay.

Another important class of writing is the review. Scott wrote many reviews for the periodicals of the day, principally the Quarterly, including some reviews of historical publications. Wide areas of Scottish history are covered by these: the Dark Age by the review (1829)

of Joseph Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians, etc; the earlier Middle Age by the review (1829) of the first two volumes of Tytler's History of Scotland; the period from the later 16th Century onwards by the review (1831) of Pitcairn's Criminal Trials (six parts); the Covenant by the review (1817) of his own Tales of My Landlord (chiefly Old Mortality), and the review (1818) of Kirkton's Church History; the earlier 18th Century by the reviews (1816 and 1827) respectively of the Culloden Papers¹ and the Life and Works of John Home; and the Highlands by the Culloden Papers review just mentioned. Furth of Scotland we find inter alia a review (1805) of Johnes' translation of Froissart, a review (1824) of the Suffolk Correspondence, and a review (1826) of the newly-published Pepys' Diary. Some of the literary articles - such as those on George Ellis's anthologies of early English verse, Southey's Amadis and The Cid, and Ossian - have a historical interest too.

Scott's Lives of the Novelists are (or were) admired as the work of the most sane, broadminded, and kindly of critics; these historical reviews, in so far as they criticise editorial or historical work, partake of the same qualities. At the end of the review of Ritson,² there is a brief notice of a book by a Mr. Lowe on Highland history.

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1. Enlarged for the Prose Works: see Journal for 24/6/1827.
 2. Review of Ritson's Annals, 374-6 (Prose Works, XX).

Mr. Lowe was a parish schoolmaster whose history was seriously out of date; the critic makes his point, as in duty bound, but so gently, and with such anxious extenuation, that these two pages might serve as a model to all critics, besides doing as much as anything else in Scott's writings to arouse esteem for him as a man.

Like other reviewers of the time, Scott sometimes devoted part of his article to a general dissertation on the subject of the book under consideration, in which the book itself seems to be forgotten; such passages always contain something of interest to the historian. - All the articles here mentioned are in the Miscellaneous Prose Works Vols. XVII-XXI, except for the "Ossian" review, which must be consulted in the Edinburgh Review for July 1805.

For the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Scott wrote in 1818 a long article on 'Chivalry' and in 1824 one on 'Romance.' In the Prose Works these are reprinted as Vol. ^{VI,} 8, along with the article 'Drama', the whole volume occupying nearly 400 pages. These two articles are of great importance in estimating Scott's view of the Middle Ages.

For a work called Border Antiquities of England and Scotland, published in 1814, Scott supplied an 'Essay on Border Antiquities', giving an account of Border life as well as of events. It occupies about 150 pages in the Prose Works. Along with this, in Vol. VII of the Prose Works, is printed a collection of short essays, written originally to accompany the illustrations in Provincial Antiquities and

Picturesque Scenery of Scotland, a publication which came out in parts 1818-26. There is, for example, an account of the Regalia (longer than the rest - 60 pages), and an interesting essay on the New Town of Edinburgh seen through Scott's eyes. His descriptions of historical monuments are short and non-technical, and the essays consist for the most part of picturesque anecdotes of former proprietors or inhabitants.

The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, 1827, occupying nine volumes of the Prose Works, is noticed in the next section.

Tales of a Grandfather, the only one of the writings named in this catalogue to become a standard book, appeared in three series, in 1827, 28, and 29. It is a history of Scotland up to 1748.¹ The first series was considerably revised and enlarged for a new edition in 1828, and this revision has since been reprinted as the standard text. Scott was careful not to call the book a History of Scotland, in view no doubt of his opinion that a worthy history would take ten years to write, whereas his was written (among other things) in about two. As this book is the chief topic of discussion in the next section but one, further remarks are unnecessary in this place, except perhaps a reminder that the kiddies' story-book style of the first few chapters is soon dropped, and if it were not for an occasional apostrophe to

1. 5 vols. in the Prose Works.

"my dear child," one could easily forget that the work was written for children - as Scott very probably did himself.

In 1829-30 Scott wrote, in two small volumes, for Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia, a History of Scotland up to 1603. We may take it that, in the words of the Apothecary whom he loved to quote, his poverty and not his will consented; he needed the money in the distressed state of his affairs. His official explanation for writing what amounted to two histories of Scotland in quick succession was that Grandfather was a children's book, whereas the "Lardner" would be more adult and philosophical.¹ This excuse is unconvincing. It is true that the Lardner fills in the gaps between high-lights which yawn in the earlier part of Tales of a Grandfather; but many of the picturesque stories in Grandfather recur in "Lardner," thus showing that the author had been indulging his own taste in the earlier book, not stooping to that of a child. This duplication is no doubt one reason why "Lardner" has never been reprinted; the other reason is that the book breaks down near the middle. The first part is normal Scott, but the latter part is Scott after his paralytic touch of February 1830. The second volume, though covering only the period 1513-1603, occupies 427 pages as against the 350 pages of Vol. I; it seems that Scott's

1. Journal, 624: "Lardner" History, Vol. I, Advertisement.

inability to condense grew more marked as his powers failed. The reign of James VI is given at especially dull length, its chief feature being a long, and, one is sorry to say, rather senile diatribe on the subject of Elizabeth Tudor's conduct towards Mary Stewart. This book, then, counts for as much in Scott's history as Count Robert and Castle Dangerous in his fiction; i.e. very little. The only thing, almost, that can be said for it is that, in spite of being written so soon after Tales of a Grandfather, it still manages to take note of historiographical development in the interval, by referring to P. F. Tytler's new History.

In 1830 Scott published Tales of a Grandfather on French history, which occupy two volumes in the Prose Works. He intended to carry this French history down to Louis XIV,¹ but did not succeed. Froissart's history stops about 1400; and, bereft of his favourite's guidance, Scott stops too, about 1410. The book seems to have been written wholly in the twilight.

Our review of Scott's work on sources ended with an account of what he did to help or encourage others; the present section may therefore end appropriately with a notice of his indirect services to the writing of history. These - so far as they have come to the notice of the present writer - are much fewer in number than those;

1. Nat. Lib. Scot., MS. 1752, p.89 (Letter to Cadell, 15/7/1830).

but they include one of the utmost importance. Scott's publication of Jamieson's Culdees may perhaps be passed over; an encouraging letter from the failing senior must have had some influence on the production of the young Donald Gregory's standard book on the Western Highlands;¹ but above all it appears that Tytler's great History was in a sense commissioned by Sir Walter Scott. An important interview between Scott and Tytler is reported in a letter by Pringle of Whytbank, printed in J. W. Burgon's Memoir of P. F. Tytler (1859); Pringle had his information direct from Tytler. Scott must have been impressed by the young man, who was a personal friend and a member of the Bannatyne; in the course of a visit to Abbotsford, in 1823 by Pringle and Tytler, it appears that Sir Walter drew Tytler aside² and urged him to undertake a History of Scotland. Scott knew that years of research would be needed, both in Scotland and in London, and could not do it himself; his own history, therefore, would be merely a collection of anecdotes to amuse the rising generation and "inspire them with sentiments of nationality." The material published as a review of the Culloden Papers had been originally intended as part of the bigger plan, now relinquished, or rather handed over. In spite of the formidable difficulties of the task, Tytler could not reject such a suggestion from such a quarter, and in due course entered upon his project.

1. Letters, XII, 23.

2. Op. cit. p. 175.

After all this, Scott might perhaps have been more enthusiastic about the History when it began to appear. Writing to Lockhart about his review of the first two volumes, Scott says, "I could not avoid taking our friend Peter to task about his flippancy to Lord Hailes. In other points he really deserves praise and has done better than I thought was in him."¹ In fact, the article consists mainly of Scott's abstract of the early history of Scotland till Bannockburn, and a lengthy defence of Hailes against Tytler's criticisms; there is sufficient commendation for Tytler, but it seems perhaps rather incidental, sometimes a little conventional. One would hesitate to call Scott unenthusiastic, but he might unquestionably have been warmer towards this very deserving foster-child. However, he had no hesitation in using the work for the earlier part of his own "Lardner's History", and in acknowledging his debt to it; and then he might have liked the later volumes better, had he lived to read them.

(iv) Sir Walter Scott, Biographer.

Scott ranks as an annalist of his own time by virtue of his Life of Napoleon. (An account of the events of 1814 and 1815 written for the Edinburgh Annual Register was utilised for this Life).² It was originally begun in September 1825³ as a small pioneer contribution

1. Letters, XI, 168.

2. Journal, 335.

3. Letters, IX, 219.

in "four tiny duodecimos"¹ to Constable's Miscellany, but it swelled under the author's hand until it appeared in June 1827² in nine thick volumes (nine volumes also in the Prose Works), equivalent in length to four or more Waverley novels. It begins with a lengthy preliminary account of the French Revolution which occupies almost two volumes in the Prose Works.

Lockhart estimated³ that, allowing for the composition of Woodstock in 1826 and other activities, the Napoleon could not have taken more than about twelve months to write; he may have wished to magnify the "achievement", but he cannot be very far wrong, since the composition was spread over 21 months, in which Scott not only wrote other things, but travelled for the work to London and Paris, lost his wife, and lost his fortune. It is to be borne in mind, too, that his official duties and social engagements went on all the time.

A French translation appeared in 1827, and there were also translations into Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, and Danish.⁴ These facts may point to an initial success, though Scott himself suspected that the book had failed (Journal, p.386); but in any case it soon fell aside and is now almost unknown. The Life of Napoleon by Walter Scott might have been a stupendous classic; it is

1. Lockhart, IV, 265.

2. completed 7/6/27: see Journal.

3. Lockhart, V, 116.

4. F. Kircheisen, Bibliography of Napoleon (London 1902).

only a stupendous disappointment.

According to Lockhart,¹ the publisher Constable deluged Scott with material for the work, whose progress can be followed in Scott's Journal for that period. There can be no doubt that he did a great deal of research, and not merely among printed books - Moniteurs, memoirs, and so on. Although Scott, as a contemporary and unofficial biographer, had in general no access to state papers and secrets - he learned only after Napoleon was published about the serious disagreements which had developed among the allied powers during the Elba phase² - yet he was allowed to consult papers at the Colonial Office for his account of Napoleon's dealings with Sir Hudson Lowe at St. Helena.³ Unofficial MS. material was provided by Wellington, Lord Elgin, Capt. Maitland of the Bellerophon, and others;⁴ most of this has a somewhat narrow biographical interest, and can hardly be described as vital for general history. During a short visit to Paris in October and November, 1826, Scott had verbal communications from some leading people, including Marshal Macdonald.⁵ But on the whole, the bulk of the book must be based on printed matter, and must have been greatly influenced by writers like Ségur, de Pradt, de Staël, Fouché, and the others who were pouring out their recollections

1. Lockhart, IV, 264.

2. Journal, 411.

3. Journal, 251 ff.

4. Journal, 130, 276. Maitland was published (1826) while Nap. was being written.

5. Journal, 266, 269.

of the fateful period following 1789.

The unavoidable limitations of Scott's source material are an obvious source of error in his biography; another source is, again obviously, the great haste in which the book was written. It is difficult to believe that so much matter could be adequately read, digested, and written up in such a short time, even by Walter Scott. Yet again, he employed a dangerous method, if Lockhart can be trusted; he read himself up to a great cycle of transactions, then traced the record with a "rapid and glowing pencil."¹ All this infers, as Lockhart admits,² many inaccuracies as to minor matters of facts, and the most fervid admirer will never martyr himself in defence of Sir Walter Scott's accuracy in details. (See the following section for a longer discussion of this point.) Many corrections by Scott were, however, embodied in the posthumous Prose Works edition³.

The Napoleon was to be popular and superficial, according to the author himself;⁴ but he did attempt something more. At the very beginning, the Causes of the French Revolution are discussed in a manner familiar to modern students (Privileges of the Nobility, and so on); there is a long discussion of republicanism - why it is suitable in America~~but~~ not in Europe;⁵ the Burkean philosophy which distrusts

1. Lockhart, IV, 337.

2. Ibid., V, 117.

3. Nap., I, iii (in Prose Works).

4. Journal, 53.

5. Nap., II, 11 ff.

violent change and doctrinaire innovation is frequently in evidence.¹ But once the book is well under way, it becomes more and more a straightforward narrative; or perhaps one should say that analysis becomes indistinguishable from prejudice. The earthquake of the years 1796-1815 is ascribed throughout to the selfish ambition of one man, and this thesis inevitably lends an old-fashioned moralistic tone to the writing.

The predominantly "popular" character of the book is obvious at a glance: we have much dramatic description, direct speech, "blood and thunder." The only unexploited features of the Revolution are the fall of the Bastille and the circle of tricoteuses round the guillotine. Few of the innumerable battles are passed by with a mere summary statement, and the famous campaigns are all described at great length. Napoleon's personal and private life is often rather crowded out - it is hard to see how this can be avoided - but from the surrender after Waterloo there is enough of the more personal kind of biographical detail. The negative side of this popular aspect is shown in the marked absence of "dry" details about, for example, the constitutions of the revolutionary period.

In the original advertisement, Scott called Napoleon a "wonderful

1. e.g. Nap., I, 163, 196, 255.

man", and claims to have been just.¹ Certain of his friends - Lockhart and Lady Louisa Stuart, for example - congratulated him on his impartiality.² It is difficult to see how any but a High Tory could make this judgement. True, Scott allows Napoleon all his military and political skill, together with a good private character.³ True again, the most impartial historian is bound to remark that the execution of the Duc d'Enghien has been widely regarded as a crime; he may well judge that Napoleon's endless annexations were inexpedient, to say the least; and even the proposition that Napoleon was a selfish egotist might be objectively true. But Scott goes well beyond the limits of the impartial historian in this case. While Napoleon's foreign policy is persistently condemned, and his more vulnerable points expatiated upon at length - the Jaffa massacre, the secret police, the Enghien affair, the British internees of 1803, the fettered press⁴ - his least controverted achievements are celebrated grudgingly at best. Great public works - yes, but many of them were left unfinished, and the motive behind them was vainglory;⁵ advances in Egyptology - yes, but Scott definitely sniggers at the savants who accompanied Napoleon to Egypt;⁶ great administrative reforms - yes, but the prefectures were mere instruments of dictatorship, and the

1. Nap., I, v-viii.

2. Lockhart, V, 118; Letters, X, 237.

3. Napoleon, IX, 312.

4. Nap., III, 350; IV, 165, 311, 287; V, 359.

5. Ibid., V, 346.

6. Ibid., III, 315, 325, 384.

lycées were merely army training establishments;¹ personal interest in arts and sciences - yes, but it was mere affectation;² the Code Napoléon - yes, but Scott will illustrate Napoleon's practical ignorance of the law.³ Napoleon's economic policy is extensively condemned; the sugar-beet development is called an "unnatural and unthrifty experiment",⁴ and the Emperor is accused of sharing the spoil of speculators.⁵ In several places, Scott mentions atrocious charges against Napoleon only to reject them⁶ - a procedure which seems questionable in view of the general tone of the book. In this matter, however, posterity may easily be unfair to Scott; these charges must have been widely known at the time, and in rejecting them he was performing a service to Napoleon's memory. But in one case, Scott mentions a charge of marital infidelity, only to leave it with the words "the truth of these charges would be no edifying subject of investigation."⁷ This at any rate seems unfair. There are passages which suggest that Scott may have resented Napoleon as a parvenu,⁸ though he was not so rude to him as to Murat, whom he describes as the "son of a pastry-cook."⁹ Interestingly enough, Scott sympathises with

1. Ibid., V, 311, 365.

2. Ibid., III, 303.

3. Ibid., V, 324.

4. Ibid., V, 343.

5. Ibid., V, 338 ff.

6. Ibid., III, 372; V, 128; VIII, 251.

7. Ibid., VIII, 251.

8. Ibid., IV, 74; V, 11; VIII, 15.

9. Ibid., VIII, 375.

Napoleon in the matter of his divorce from the Empress Josephine, having a fellow-feeling for the man who wanted to found a dynasty of kings, as he himself wanted to found a county family.¹ But the comparison of Napoleon with "the tempter in the wilderness"² and the reference to a "terrible and evil spirit,"³ show how Scott shared to some extent the contemporary British tendency to see Napoleon as a kind of Satan, as the Cameronians saw Claverhouse. - Yet the account of Napoleon at Longwood and the summary of his character at the end are somewhat kinder in tone than the rest; Scott would not kick the man when he was down.

As for the French Revolution, the martyred royal family and the Vendean peasantry are absurdly idealised by Scott, after the manner of royalist propaganda;⁴ whereas the republican régime and its supporters are either ridiculed or depicted as a kind of witches' Sabbath.⁵ We read about "raking up the disgusting history of mean and bloody-minded demagogues,"⁶ but nothing about the important permanent reforms of the republican government - although the organising genius of Carnot is admitted.⁷

1. Ibid., VI, 257.

2. Ibid., V, 304.

3. Ibid., VIII, 171.

4. Ibid., II, 51, 57 ff, 141.

5. Ibid., II, 22; I, 247; XI, 351 ff.

6. Ibid., I, 321.

7. Ibid., II, 313.

Throughout the book, one observes not merely a decent pride in the achievements of the British armed forces, but an irritating insular complacency about the British constitution.¹ The French will learn, says Scott, to eliminate violence from their public life and settle their differences through the medium of debate; speaking rather in the manner of a schoolmaster watching his pupil's progress with a critical but kindly eye. All might have been well, he says, if Napoleon had decided in 1799 to be a constitutional ruler.² Scott's Tory devotion to the monarchical part of the constitution and the landed oligarchy in Britain is indicated by his denunciation of the principle of wide electoral suffrage.³ The Code Napoléon is given a decidedly lukewarm notice⁴ because Scott was very conscious of the superiority of the time-honoured legal systems of Great Britain.

In the matter of the alleged ill-treatment of the captive Bonaparte in St. Helena, Scott's view that the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, was deliberately provoked by Napoleon,⁵ and that his only fault was over-anxiety, and a certain deficiency in the very highest type of self-control and generosity, was attacked by W. Forsyth in his History of the Captivity of Napoleon at St. Helena (1853);⁶ but later

1. Ibid., I, 255 ff.

2. Ibid., IV, 59.

3. Ibid., II, 12 ff.

4. Ibid., V, 326.

5. Ibid., IX, 176-185, 195, 223.

6. Op. cit., III, 327 ff.

writers have supported Scott. The latest to do so is Ralph Korngold, (Last Years of Napoleon, 1960);¹ this writer also supports Scott in the matter of the statements in the Life which angered General Gourgaud,² and seemed likely to cause a duel.

Goethe was shrewd about the Napoleon; although he had not the advantage of looking back from a later period, he saw that it was valuable as a record of contemporary public opinion in Britain about the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon.³ This is not praise; Goethe does not commit himself to a high estimate of the work either as history or as literature; it has value only as evidence of a special kind - evidence about the mind of Scott and about the mentality of the society - or part⁴ of the society - to which he belonged. Even for the same reason did Scott himself value the old pamphlets and memoirs which he edited and reprinted.

There is nothing in the foregoing paragraphs to explain why the Napoleon was never a great success. The general reading public is not very punctilious about minute accuracy, and many readers, from Scott's day to our own, would thoroughly sympathise with his dislike of Napoleon, tempered to a certain extent by the honourable desire to be just. To explain the obscurity which fell upon the book is actually

1. Op. cit., pp. 208, 410.

2. Nap., IX, 186 ff.; Journal, 398-422.

3. Quoted in Grierson, Sir Walter Scott Today, p.53.

4. One must not forget Napoleon's Whig admirers, and the adoring Life by Hazlitt which came out just after Scott's.

not easy. Certainly, it was soon superseded by more authoritative works; but the Tales of a Grandfather, though not very authoritative from the beginning, were long popular. Certainly, the Napoleon is very long, and Robert Cadell, Constable's hrewd partner, looked upon its rapidly swelling bulk during the period of composition with much apprehension;¹ yet vast histories have succeeded before and since. There is at times a flavour of Victorian pomposity in the style; but this feature has become objectionable only quite recently. Most people, one imagines, on considering the idea of reading Scott's Napoleon, would recoil on the ground that Napoleon was not Scott's proper business; it was a sound instinct which prompted him to write novels anonymously after he had become a famous poet. Had Shakespeare written a bulky Life of Mary, Queen of Scots, he might have experienced a similar difficulty. But once this psychological obstacle is overcome, and the book is read, it still arouses no great enthusiasm. It reads well enough, particularly in the narrative portions; and yet ... and yet!

One can only suggest, firstly, that a comprehensive life of Napoleon is bound to be too heavily loaded with military history for most tastes; his career is too full in this one respect to be a good subject for artistic treatment as it stands. At any rate, there

1. A. Constable and his Literary Correspondents, III, 367.

is as yet no life of Napoleon which ranks as a literary classic. Secondly, a great book can be written under the inspiration of love, and possibly of hatred; but if an author dislikes his subject while labouring conscientiously to make all due allowances, he is struggling in conditions highly unfavourable to success. These suggestions, however, are offered with all diffidence.

(v) Sir Walter Scott, historian.

Generally speaking, it is probably fair to say that Scott was less a researcher than a reader; but he was a reader with such a powerful memory that his mind contained something like the equivalent of a research student's collection of notes. If Scott says, therefore, that his writing shows no great depth of research, he forgets that another man would need to toil hard in order to produce the work which seemed so easy to Scott. Nor is it correct to say that he never did research ad hoc; the case of the brilliant vols. IX and X of Dryden has already been mentioned, and Napoleon was at least a tour de force.

Again, it is broadly true that his reading or research lay principally among printed materials; that MS. repositories, especially public ones, were relatively little disturbed by him (Sir Tristram comes to mind here, but that is a literary matter). Against this, it is to be remembered that there is as much need to delve among rare

old pamphlets and ephemera as among MS. documents; and if the MS. is harder to read, the printed matter may be harder to evaluate. Both activities are essential for a complete history, and Scott's knowledge of printed books and pamphlets was very extensive. We have already discussed his background of reading among printed books, but his knowledge of the slighter kinds of printed matter can be appreciated only by a reading of his notes to Dryden, Swift, and the Somers Tracts. Further, Scott's acquaintance with MS. material may easily be undervalued; some idea of its extent may be gathered from Section A above. And, finally, there can be no question of regarding Scott as the kind of popular author who merely "re-hashes" standard modern text-books.

Some of the foregoing propositions may be illustrated from Tales of a Grandfather. The earlier part of this history is fairly obviously derived from standard sources - Fordun, Wyntoun, Barbour, and the like. It was in literature that Scott's strength as a mediaevalist lay. The later chapters of Grandfather are, however, increasingly enriched by material from a wide variety of sources, printed or MS., until we come to his account of the Jacobite movement, concerning which Scott told Cadell that he had "endless interesting matter which has not seen the light."¹ This part of the work, therefore, has some claim to be regarded as an original history in its own right.

1. Letters, X, 462.

The account of friction between English and Scots after 1603 at the court of King James¹ draws heavily upon Osborne's Court and Character of King James,² one of the gossip tracts which Scott found so useful.

Wishart's Memoir~~s~~ of Montrose helps Scott to put a more congenial colour on the career of that royalist leader than Malcolm Laing had done.

As Scott himself had edited Capt. Creighton's Memoirs as part of his Swift (Vol. X.), one is not surprised to find this old army officer (whose memoirs were "ghosted" by the Dean) supplying a Covenanting story from the royalist side.³

Lauder of Fountainhall,⁴ although he might almost be called the grave of Scott's editorial reputation, provides the tale of the Heriot boys who made the school dog "take the Test;"⁵ Lauderdale's well-known saying about "windle-straes and sandy laverocks";⁶ and the description of General Dalziel as a Muscovy beast who used to roast men.⁷

When a force of volunteers attacked Holyrood in 1688, Capt. Wallace showed a disposition to defend the place, whereupon the

1. Grandfather, Ch.35.

2. Secret History, Vol. I.

3. Grandfather, III, 218.

4. Historical Observes, I, 55 (Bannatyne Club).

5. Grandfather, III, 262.

6. Ibid., III, 228: Observes, I, 94. 7. Grandfather, III, 204: Lauder's Historical Notices for 7/10/1681 (Bannatyne Club).

volunteers left Wallace and the major of the city guard to "dispute the matter professionally" - this story seems to come from Balcarres' Memoir,¹ although the humorous adverb is Scott's own contribution.

The amusing anecdote of the politic Pope who was seized by a fit of coughing whenever James II's envoy tried to discuss his master's rash scheme of restoring Catholicism in Britain² does not seem to have become common currency; but it occurs in Ralph's History under the reign of James II.

Sir John Dalrymple was an avowed believer in the family traditions of the gentry, and his book contains much material congenial to Scott. A number of Scott's stories are in Dalrymple, and are even told in language which recalls Dalrymple's. There is one about Dundee's officers, who were dismissed by the exiled James VII after Killiecrankie in a moving ceremony, and then became private soldiers in the French service, which is told in very similar language by Dalrymple and Scott.³ The tragedy of the youth who displayed cowardice in the field of battle and was finally shot, Spartan-wise, by Dundee's own hand, is also in Dalrymple.⁴ He may also have provided some of the details for Scott's account of Glencoe. - The original source for both

1. Ed. Bannatyne Club, p.16.

2. Grandfather, III, 305.

3. Grandfather, III, 396; Dalrymple, Memoirs of Gt. Britain, Pt. II, Bk. II, p.60.

4. Grandfather III, 396; Dalrymple, Memoirs, Pt. II, Bk. II, p.47.

writers, however, seems to be a Jacobite pamphlet of 1714, Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundee, etc. (reprinted in 1819 in Miscellanea Scotica).

The story of the imbecile woman, condemned to death for witchcraft, who warmed herself at the blaze which was to consume her, and said she had not been at such a pleasant party for years, is in the Introduction to C. K. Sharpe's edition of Law's Memorials.¹ -Scott's account of the murder of Archbishop Sharp states that the murderers found among his belongings "a bee in a box, which they concluded was a familiar spirit." This little detail is in none of the common accounts, but is given by Sharpe in his edition of Kirkton's Church History, from a MS. suppressed by Wodrow.² This same edition must be the source for Scott's account of Lady Methven, the enthusiastic Tory disperser of Conventicles.³

It is evident that Scott depended very little upon the standard text-book for the 17th Century - that of Laing, who includes very little of this "popular" material.

The account in Grandfather of the '15, although obviously indebted to the contemporary printed histories of Rae and Patten, is greatly enriched by the memoirs of John Sinclair, which Scott knew in MS. Sinclair is frequently mentioned in the story; but besides

1. Grandfather, III, 142: Law, Memorials, cvii.
2. Grandfather, III, 237: Kirkton, Church History, 419-21.
3. Grandfather, III, 216: Kirkton, 355: Scott's Review of Kirkton, 270 (Prose Works, XIX).

contributing his own exploits, he supplied some characteristic details, like Mar's kissing a portrait of the Pretender in lieu of producing his commission as general, and Breadalbane's sniggering to himself all the time and recommending the acquisition of a printing-press, as his only contribution to the higher councils of the Jacobites.¹

The notable thing about Scott's history of the '45 is that he had, in addition to Home, the Lockhart Papers and Culloden Papers, and other published matter, three MS. Memoirs, by Elcho, Maxwell, and Murray of Broughton. The editor who finally brought out Elcho in 1907 - Charteris - actually maintains that Elcho was Scott's principal authority;² however this may be, he was not the only one. The most interesting point to emerge in this connection concerns a little piece of narrative about Corryarrack, where Sir John Cope failed to meet the Jacobite army, having sheered off to Inverness. According to Scott, some Jacobite officers climbed a hill to reconnoitre Cope's force in the pass, but when they reached the top they were astonished to see, not the numerous files of an army ascending, but silence and solitude.³ This has all the appearance of a piece of romantic embroidery, but it is nothing of the kind, and may

1. Grandfather, IV, 253, 333; Sinclair, 50, 186 (Abbotsford Club Ed.).

2. See Charteris' Intro. for the evidence.

3. Grandfather, V, 98: Memoirs of Murray of B., 177 (S.H.S. ed.)

be read in Murray of Broughton's Memoirs, to the MS. of which Scott had access, and to which he makes reference¹ (though veiled) elsewhere. This point is of some importance for the question of Scott's fidelity to sources; it is rash to accuse him of colouring his material. Another romantic story - how the titular Duke of Perth evaded arrest at Drummond Castle by fleeing through a private door into the wood - is also in Murray.²

The foregoing selection of points, short enough perhaps not to fatigue the mental ear, may yet give some idea of the wealth of Scott's sources.

It is a very great pity that Scott frequently did not trouble to verify his statements before publication; although perhaps he could not have been the man he was had he done so. Introducing Anne of Geierstein, he confesses that while his memory never fails him for a "snatch of verse or trait of character," it has been but a frail support in the matters of names, dates, and many more important things.³ The possibility of carrying out a check before publication is not considered; and in fact, such checking would frequently be a matter of great difficulty. A man of his powerful memory and enormous reading could hardly confine himself, when writing, to one or two sources lying on his desk; useful and relevant points would keep crowding in

1. See "Murray of Broughton" in App.I.

2. Grandfather, V, 77: Memoirs of Murray, 157 (S.H.S. edition).

3. Anne of Geierstein, I, 2.

from the rich background, clamouring to be used; he would have been seriously delayed had he stopped to verify everything; and we know that he was always in a hurry, from constitutional as well as financial causes.

There can be no doubt that a great deal of his writing was done from memory. In the Journal, he mentions writing about 40 pages in one day: "the theme was so familiar, being Scottish history, that my pen never rested."¹ The ominous phrase "currente calamo" is used in connection with the "Lardner" History somewhat later.² While there is sound sense in the dictum "it is an awkward thing to read in order that you may write", there is also wisdom in not writing without reading, or at least without some ad hoc revision. Even when Scott did read ad hoc, his method - alternate bouts of reading and writing³ - made slips easy.

We have abundant evidence for his carelessness about detail and the impatience of his temper. Grierson⁴ reveals many cases of misdating of letters, and some important neglect of correspondence. This is connected with Scott's headlong haste in action: according to Grierson, the MS. letters are virtually unpunctuated; Lockhart misled the public when he provided his quotations with the missing

1. Journal, 413.
2. Journal, 623.
3. Lockhart, IV, 337.
4. Letters, passim.

commas, full-stops, capital letters, and so on.¹ Scott himself often lamented the disorderly state of his papers of which the condition of Jonathan Oldbuck's study (see The Antiquary, I, 47-9) was doubtless a reflection, if exaggerated.² These confessions may throw some doubt on Lockhart's picture of apple-pie order in the master's sanctum.³ Scott admitted that tutoring his son Walter tried his impatient temper,⁴ and that this trait would be a disqualification for editing Shakespeare.⁵ No doubt his urge to publish and make money to buy land played its part, but the tendency was constitutional; he said that his Latin was "more familiar than grammatical,"⁶ an admission which agrees with our knowledge of his schooldays, and with the specimens of German and French (if not of Latin) which he saw fit to introduce into his writings.

It would be a waste of time to draw up a critique of the chronological accuracy of the man who said "what signify dates in a true story?"⁷ - speaking, be it noted, not of mere notes to a novel, but of a formal, full-scale historical work, the Napoleon; of the man who gave wrong dates in speaking of the very recent deaths of a group of close relatives;⁸ of the man who wrote a chapter of autobiography,

1. Letters, I, x-xii; lxx.
2. Letters, IX, 227; XI, 241: Journal, 30.
3. Lockhart, III, 184.
4. Letters, II, 533.
5. Letters, VII, 79.
6. Letters, II, 529.
7. Journal, 230.
8. Letters, VI, 74 (n).

and left blanks for a number of dates, which had to be filled up in the end, or simply left, by Lockhart.¹ It is essential, however, to attempt some analysis of the factual inaccuracy, apart from chronology, which mars Scott's historical writing.

In Waverley, Scott remarks in passing that the Torwood, near Falkirk, is noted for its association with Sir William Wallace and "the cruelties of Wude Willie Grime."² The Stirlingshire antiquaries have nothing to say about this latter character; but much toilsome research has revealed that he was a certain Graham of Garvock, who terrorised the district of Dunning in Perthshire;³ Wallace's famous lament for his friend Sir John the Graham, killed at Falkirk, might account for this slip.⁴

Again, the ad hoc researcher may spend a very long time tracing Baillie Jarvie's story about the part played by the London merchants in delaying the Armada (see post, Part II, B (2)): it is a far cry from Baker's Chronicle, the alleged source, to Burnet's Own Time, the true one. There is something to be said for Scott here too; he knew that Baker was "no great authority, perhaps,"⁵ and the same may be said of Burnet in respect of the Spanish Armada. - These are two cases where verification might be difficult even for Scott himself.

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1. Lockhart, I, 3-11.
 2. Waverley, II, 90.
 3. Macfarlane's Geog. Collections I/123 (S.H.S. ed.)
 4. Henry the Minstrel, Wallace, Bk X, lines 563-586.
 5. Somers Tracts, II, 453.

During the "Red Decade" of the 1930's, a Mr. A. L. Morton brought out a People's History of England on Marxist lines, which was attacked by the Scotsman Reviewer for confusing the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant. Mr. Morton might have replied that Sir Walter Scott had a similar difficulty, since he spoke of the Solemn League and Covenant when he meant the National Covenant, on three distinct occasions.¹ In the Legend, the name is used once correctly and once wrongly, in the same chapter (there is no question, of course, of error in substance; only in name).

In St. Ronan's Well,² we are told that Donald Cargill the covenanter was slain by the persecutors in the town of Queensferry, although in fact it was Cargill's companion, Hall, who was mortally wounded there, Cargill himself being reserved to "glorify God in the Grassmarket." The annoying thing about this is that Scott himself, editing Somers, had already given the correct story in his notes, and in detail.³

Of the Battle of Largs, 1263, Lord Hailes gives a very brief account, claiming that the sources contradict each other so seriously as to make any detailed narrative untrustworthy. Haco invaded Scotland with a mighty fleet: the Norwegians landed at Largs:

1. Minstrelsy, II, 159: Somers, III, 3: Legend of Montrose, 39.
2. Op. cit., I, 289.
3. Somers, VII, 328.

were attacked and overcome by the Scots; a storm arose, shattering and dissipating the Norse fleet: Haco retreated to Orkney and died there - such is Hailes' account. He gives, in a note, Fordun's assertion that many Scottish barons were in treasonable communication with Norway.

This would not do, naturally, for Tales of a Grandfather, where Scott fills out the bare outline from various sources, good or bad. Fordun's assertion is incorporated in his text, together with his reports that Haco first seized Bute and Arran, and lost a nephew in the campaign. Scott's statement that the storm did not arise until the second day of the fighting is more definite than anything in the sources; perhaps he was unwilling to dim the glory of Scottish arms. Scott says that Alexander III was wounded in the face by an arrow, transferring this picturesque circumstance from the battle of Neville's Cross, where such an accident to David II is vouched for by Hailes. The death of Alexander the Steward at Largs, reported by Scott, is mentioned by Pinkerton, but only as an error in Crawford's History of the Shire of Renfrew and House of Stewart.¹ (Scott might be attracted by the name of the Stewart family, and forget the rest). Scott's statement that the local people slew the Norwegian crews when they came ashore in the storm is mentioned by Bellenden in his version

1. Pinkerton's History (ed. 1797), I, 5.

of Boece, and the discovery of large quantities of human bones and warlike weapons at Largs is referred to in Chalmers' Caledonia,¹ quoting the Edinburgh Evening Courant of 5th December 1813.

We have here, then, a composite account, of which every feature but one can be traced ~~to~~ some kind of source.

Not long after writing this account in Grandfather, Scott read and reviewed the first volumes of Tytler's History. On the battle at Largs, Tytler followed the Norwegian source, Account of Haco's expedition against Scotland, impressed by its mention of an eclipse of the sun which occurred during the expedition. When writing the "Lardner" History in 1829, Scott followed Tytler, but unfortunately he chose to revive at the same time an old story he had told in the Minstrelsy,² to the effect that Haco fled towards Orkney via the Kyle of Lochalsh, giving Kyle Akin its name (Kyle Hakon!), and being killed by his pursuers in that very strait. Repeating this story in 1829, Scott omits the slaying of Haco, as inconsistent doubtless with his fuller knowledge. No source is to hand for this legend; but we are to notice that he tells the fable in the course of an introduction to 'Ellandonan Castle' a pseudo-ballad by his friend Colin Mackenzie. Now the Kyle of Lochalsh is adjacent to Kintail, and the founder of

1. Caledonia, III, Ch. 5.

2. Minstrelsy, IV, 352.

the family of Mackenzie of Kintail is said to have distinguished himself at Largs and to have received a grant of Kintail shortly after from Alexander III.¹ One may reasonably suspect that the story came from Colin Mackenzie. However this may be, one is disposed to believe that Scott had really a source; was not just romancing; but could accept a bad source with overmuch facility.

The Battle of the Standard is treated at greater length by Hailes, and we might expect Scott to follow him, as the best modern authority. According to Hailes (and Ailred), Malise of Strathearn addressed David I before the battle, saying "Whence arises this mighty confidence in those Normans? I wear no armour, yet they who do will not advance beyond me this day." Scott gives:² "Why so much confidence in a plate of steel, or in rings of iron? I who wear no armour, will go as far tomorrow with a bare breast, as anyone who wears a cuirass." The speech has been well remembered, and perhaps a little too well. Hailes and Ailred say that David commanded the reserve behind the third line, but Scott says he commanded the third line, feeling possibly that the King should not be in reserve, but not daring to bring him too far forward. According to Hailes, however, the third line consisted of the men of Lothian, islanders, and volunteers, while the reserve held the Scots "properly so called"

1. Crawfurd's Peerage: "Seaforth."

2. Grandfather, I, 44.

and the men of Moray; whereas Scott's third line contains the men of Lothian and the northern Scots, "properly so called." Scott has thus amalgamated the third line and the reserve, while retaining the phrase "properly so called." Hailes (and Huntingdon) say that the Bishop of Orkney "exhorted the English to battle ... promised victory and absolution from their sins for all who should die." Hailes (and Ailred) also report a harangue by Walter L'Espece, delivered from "the carriage in which the holy standard was fixed." Scott says that the Bishop mounted the carriage, proclaimed the war a holy one, and assured the troops that those who fell "should immediately pass into Paradise." L'Espece is not mentioned, so that we have here another case of amalgamation, together with a certain heightening of colour. The story of the English archer who held up the head of a slain man on a spear, claiming that it was the head of the Scottish King, rests on authority, but the statement that David "threw his helmet from his head and rode barefaced among the soldiers" does not. Yet Hume's History tells such a story about Edmund Ironside,¹ and there may well be other sources for what looks like a standard piece of narrative.

In 1828 there appeared Joseph Ritson's little posthumous source-book, Annals of the Caledonians, etc., and Scott reviewed it in 1829.

1. Hume's History of England, I, 146 (1812 ed.)

Commenting¹ on the Battle of the Standard, and the statement (in Matthew Paris and Hoveden) that the Scot's' battle-cry was "Albany!" Ritson says in a foot-note: "'In this battle' says Lambarde, '... the Scottes cryed out Albany! Albany! ... But the Englishe souldyers... mocked with Yry, Yry, Standard! a term of great reproach at that time, as Matthew Paris witnesseth,' in whose work, however, no such thing is to be found." Lambarde, as a Tudor period writer, had an obvious motive for fabricating or reproducing anti-Irish stories; but the fiction is too interesting for Scott's critical prudence, and he reproduces it in his review as fact,² altering the spelling of "Yry" to the more Chattertonian "Erygh." By the time he reached the "Lardner" History - perhaps only a few days later³ - he was using the spellings "Albanigh" and "Eryrych." This is a great pity, because the general account of the battle in the "Lardner" History is more faithful than in Grandfather, even though David still rides "helmetless through the ranks." Scott is giving a certain colour to his jesting self-accusation: "Geoffrey of Monmouth will be Lord Clarendon to him."⁴ New errors creep in even while old ones are being extirpated.

The account of the slaying of the Bishop of Caithness in

-
1. Op. cit., under 'Annals of Galloway.'
 2. Ritson Review, 372-3.
 3. Journal, 622, 625.
 4. Betrothed, 31.

Grandfather¹ is historical, but the words of his enemies "Short rede, good rede, slay we the bishop," are not, nor is Scott's "translation," "Few words are best, let us kill the bishop." This tendency to touch up the old stories, to "put a cocked hat on their heads and stick a cane into their hands, to make them fit for going into company,"² is not confined to Grandfather, to stories intended to interest children. Sir James Turner,³ when a prisoner in Hull, tried to haggle with the governor over his parole; after some discussion the governor exposed the weakness of Turner's bargaining position by revealing that he was authorised specifically by Cromwell to keep the prisoner in irons. Scott, annotating the "Legend", concludes the story by saying, "The English officer allowed the strength of the reasoning; but that concise reasoner, Cromwell, soon put an end to the dilemma: 'Sir James Turner must give his parole, or be laid in irons.'" This introduction of direct speech, together with a subtle modification of the plot, shows Scott touching up the story, although not indiscreetly.

Scott's habit of using traditional stories naturally exposes him to criticism and endless confutation: as only one example out of many may be mentioned the traditional history of the McGregors given in the 1829 Introduction to Rob Roy. Sir William Fraser⁴ took the trouble to

1. Op. cit., I, 59.

2. Lockhart, I, 174.

3. Memoirs (Bannatyne Club) p.80.

4. Chiefs of Colquhoun, I, 190.

point out that Scott had added "fictitious" circumstances to the account of the Clan battle of Glenfruin; and indeed the ascertained facts about that event furnish a much balder narrative than Scott gives; but it is unnecessary to suppose that Scott invented anything, since it is clear from the Rob Roy Introduction, and elsewhere, that he picked up much traditional matter personally on Loch Lomond side. The legendary features of the Drummond-Ernoch murder were derived, he says, from local tradition.¹ The defence of Scott in this matter must rest on the propositions that he very often warns the reader about the dubious authenticity of his stories, and indeed does so at the beginning of the Rob Roy article;² that he valued tradition as a reflection of mental life, in which respect it is unaffected by demonstrations of historical inaccuracy; and finally that his anecdotes never violate historical propriety. There is a book by one K. Macleay, called Historical Memoirs of Rob Roy etc., published in 1818, and obviously enough calculated to exploit the interest aroused by the publication of Rob Roy on 31st December 1817. Macleay shares with Scott in the pool of traditional McGregor lore, but swings wildly out into regions untouched by Sir Walter. Rob Roy, according to this author, spent whole days in the admiration of sublime natural scenes;³

1. Letters, XII, 405: Legend of Montrose, 2.

2. Rob Roy, I, 3.

3. Op. cit., 157.

could survey a ruined castle with emotions of reverence for its antiquity;¹ and found congenial employment in rescuing a distressed female from the wicked clutches of a base knight of England.² Scott's traditional lore is Authenticity in person compared with this.

But Scott can on occasion be detected giving traditions or legends the status of fact. The Scottish standard for the Flodden campaign "is traditionally said to have been displayed from the Hare Stane" still to be seen on the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh - so he says in "Marmion," published in 1808.³ By the time he wrote the essays in Provincial Antiquities, however (1818-26), the circumstance is stated as a fact without qualification,⁴ ^{and} again in Grandfather in 1828.⁵

Mr. H. M. Paton, discussing this legend (for so it is), obviously suspects Scott of inventing the tradition himself, on the ground that the poet disclaimed the obligation to respect historical truth⁶ in a romantic poem; but then Scott's statement is in his notes, not ^{merely} in the poem itself, and he would not disclaim the historian's obligations there. Certainly, poets and novelists must be watched warily, particularly the one who fixed the traditional meeting-place of Thomas the Rhymer with the Fairy Queen in a glen on his own estate, as

1. Ibid., 234.
2. Ibid., 228 ff.
3. Marmion, p.214.
4. Prov. Antig., 253.
5. Grandfather, I, 363.
6. Old Edinburgh Club, XXIV, 114.

Jonathan Oldbuck fixed the site of Mons Graupius at the Kaim of Kinprunes, without adequate evidence;¹ but then, as Scott himself complained in his preface to the Somers Tracts, the public are apt to be sceptical from the outset about a poet when he attempts historical work; and the evidence presented in the foregoing paragraphs does not favour the proposition that Scott indulged in sheer invention when writing history. What can be said with confidence is that his very retentive memory, like that of many other people, was weak on the segregation of facts, each in its appropriate pigeon-hole; his mind was, rather, a melting-pot from which he drew at need; so that his facts are virtually certain to have a source, though sometimes a wrong one, and sometimes a bad one; and are, occasionally, slightly touched up. Mr. Paton's alternative thesis about the Burgh Muir stone - that it acquired its Flodden legend by transfer from the Bore Stone at Bannockburn - is therefore the more acceptable, as being more in keeping with Scott's practice. He certainly knew the tradition about the Bannockburn stone, as he mentions it in the notes to The Lord of the Isles.²

The exasperating thing about Scott's inaccuracies and uncritical acceptances is that he frequently displayed a critical acumen which commands respect. He distrusts all circumstantial tales, such as the

1. Letters, IV, 326, 328; V, 174; VII, 143, 277.
2. Lord of the Isles, 336.

Welsh antiquaries' confident account of "the cut of Llyarch Hen's beard,"¹ or Somerville's long, long story about "speats and raxes," which is allowed in Grandfather only in a severely abridged form.² He was suspicious of the Vestiarium Scoticum, an "old" document which proved that tartan was anciently used in the Lowlands, and which later was found to be a forgery by these strange persons, the brothers Stuart.³ He would not swallow a sword with date 1000 A.D. on the blade.⁴ In an interesting letter he criticises a suggestion that certain of the mysterious sculptured stones of the North-east ("Arthurian" to the lay public at the time, apparently) were of 15th Century date, on the grounds of stylistic difference, and the improbability of the supposition that people ^{would} forget the real history of the stones so soon, and attach Arthurian legends to such recent monuments. Perhaps the suggestion was rather absurd, even in 1808, but the reasoning is trenchant, and seems to be delivered extempore.⁵ Elsewhere, he doubted the Arthurian origin popularly ascribed to these ~~at~~ stones, and accepted by Chalmers,⁶ since the universal fame and popularity of the Arthurian legends are themselves sufficient to account for the association of King Arthur and his knights with any

1. Letters, I, 233; XII, 271.

2. Grandfather, I, 312; Memorie of the Somervilles, I, 240.

3. Letters, XI, 198; Journal, 649.

4. Letters, XI, 454.

5. Letters, II, 97.

6. Caledonia, I, 466.

ancient monument whose real origin is forgotten.¹ George Chalmers believed in the Druidical origin of standing stone circles, but Scott dismissed the theory on the ground that there is no evidence of Druidical penetration to Orkney, where he himself had seen the great monuments at Stennis and Brogar.² In the matter of the Pictish language, he had at least the merit of seeing the light emitted by someone else, and announced his conversion by Chalmers from the Gothic to the Celtic view.³ Finally, it must be recorded to his credit that he rejected Joseph Train's report, on the ground of insufficient evidence, to the effect that two female connections of Old Mortality had married, one into Napoleon's family, the other into Wellington's.⁴ We shall never know how much this sensational renunciation cost Sir Walter Scott. One is apt at times to think that there were two Scotts: the shrewd Scott here described, and the lax Scott, too often in the foreground.

The practice which we have already noticed in Pinkerton and Tytler of accepting supernatural stories by means of a rationalist explanation in terms of human device, also persists in Scott; he treats thus both James IV's vision at Linlithgow, and the midnight summons at the Cross of Edinburgh.⁵

1. R. Franck, Northern Memoirs, ed. Scott, 1821, p.369.

2. Caledonia, I, 71; Border Antiq., 14.

3. Ibid., 26, and Review of Ellis' Early English Poetry, 10 (Prose Wks., XVII).

4. Letters, XI, 169, 173.

5. Marmion, 392; Grandfather, I, 362.

In the matter of scope, Scott's history does not achieve the comprehensiveness which he regarded as desirable; he comes nowhere near to emulating Henry, although he has some interesting passages on manners and customs - in the Culloden Papers Review, for the Highlands; the Essay on Border Antiquities; and the article on 'Chivalry.' It might have been possible to attempt a regular essay on the New Plan in Grandfather, but he did not do so. In this matter he was certainly right: children, and naïve readers generally, do not want to read about the faceless mediæval peasant trudging away with a load of grain to the lord's mill, or resting his interested gaze upon a fallow field overgrown with weeds. They are of course interested in the strangeness or barbarity of alien cultures, but even so it is not easy to make a popular book from such material alone. Narrative history still holds its own with general readers in spite of two centuries of propaganda for the New Plan. Scott, then, held to the old plan, and allowed his points about manners and customs to emerge incidentally from the narrative, apart from the occasional chapter on 'The Progress of Civilisation',¹ or witchcraft trials. The Minstrelsy is, of course, a separate chapter of social history.

A more serious criticism of Scott's scope is that his vision can be decidedly parochial. The modern Concert of Europe took shape

1. Grandfather, Ch. 34.

somewhere about the end of the 15th Century, and the great historians - Hume, Robertson and others - were, as we have seen, alive to this fact, and devoted much attention to international diplomacy on the European scale; but Scott has, in comparison, little to say about international relations outside the British Isles. In narrating 16th Century history he seems never to mention that Habsburg-Valois rivalry which explains so much in the foreign policy of the British kingdoms; he says very little - and that only in Dryden¹ - about Charles II's pecuniary dependence on France; and, above all, he describes the events and negotiations leading to the Union of 1707 without mentioning the vital rôle of the Spanish Succession War.²

Although Scott expected from historians an interest in the "real and deep progress of events," his own historical writing is not notable in this respect. There are, indeed, chapters in Grandfather on such topics as feudalism, the Reformation, King versus Parliament; but in general these are rather conventional and are felt to read heavily, although there are some interesting pages on the Causes of the Decline of Chivalry in the 'Essay on Chivalry.' Similarly, his discussions of problems - the Casket Letters (in the "Lardner" History), of the Gowrie Conspiracy (in Grandfather, "Lardner", and Somers), and even of Ossian (Letters, I, 320 and Edinburgh Review,

1. Dryden, II, 16; IX, 385.

2. Grandfather, Ch. 60.

1805) - are of inferior importance to those of Robertson, Pinkerton, and Laing, being shorter, less detailed, and unoriginal. Where there is a conflict of opinion, as between Robertson and Pinkerton on the Gowrie affair, Scott chooses his side, but adds nothing to knowledge. His originality took him elsewhere.

But there are, scattered through his writings, sundry obiter dicta, nowhere followed up, which show that his 18th Century education had made him conscious of the influence of environment, of circumstance, upon human life; that his feeling for this underlies the apparently superficial narrative of his history; and that he was far from remaining untouched by the empirical approach of observers like Millar and Ferguson. In the Review of Ritson's Annals,¹ he attacks at unusual length Pinkerton's notion of a national character persisting through the ages, and appeals against it to the evidence of history. In the course of his argument he starts an analogy with animal breeding, but soon checks himself lest he wander into "disquisitions as fanciful as those we are now endeavouring to expose." In Provincial Antiquities (p.399) he speaks of the portrait of a Lord Seton, and claims that the face on the canvas reflects the influence of the social position of a feudal noble, with all its privileges and responsibilities; the special cast of countenance thus created, says

1. P.360 (Prose Works, XX).

Scott, is not to be found in the modern successor of such a man, "whose voice is no longer law within his baronial domains." (Perhaps Scott's imagination was over-active here, but that does not matter). Again, the mediaeval church "well adapted its doctrines to the wants and wishes of a barbarous age."¹ As a young law student, Scott denied that feudalism was invented by the Lombards, or that it depended on the King's being acknowledged as the pinnacle of the social edifice; he took the more advanced view, already current, that the institution appeared in all nations "when placed in a certain situation."² Reviewing the Culloden Papers,³ he compares Highland clan society with that of the Afghan tribes, to prove that "the same state of society" produces "similar manners, laws, and customs," irrespective of differences in time and place. After dining with an Orientalist who thought the Indian caste system was a corruption of Buddhism, he wrote in his Journal⁴: "It would require strong proof to show that the superstition [!] of caste could be introduced into a country which had been long peopled, and where society had long existed without such restriction. It is more liker to be adopted in the early history of a tribe, when there are but few individuals, the descent of whom is accurately preserved. How could the castes be

1. Monastery, II, 222.

2. Letters, I, 17; Prose Works, III, 15.

3. Prose Works, XX, 15.

4. Journal, p.311.

distinguished or 'told off' in a populous nation?"¹ (The case of this Orientalist reminds one that it is no small merit to be abreast of the most advanced views). In the same class with these acute observations comes the remark that the Berwick smacks had done more than the Union to change the national character of the Scots;² he sees inter-communication as a more powerful solvent of local cultures than any political arrangement.

This type of thinking seems not to appear at all in Scott's longer historical works, and it may be that he found it unsuitable in books intended for the general public. Undoubtedly, the atmosphere of Napoleon, Grandfather, and "Lardner" is noticeably more old-fashioned than that of earlier works; more old fashioned for example, than that of the great editions of 1802-15. Divine Providence is frequently mentioned in the later books; but not in the earlier; moralistic comment on persons like Edward I and Elizabeth is similarly distributed; and the new, religious type of national feeling appears similarly at the end - witness this passage about the Scottish national struggle against Edward III: "There could not be a thought of despair when Scotsmen saw hanging like hallowed relics above their domestic hearths the swords with which their fathers served the Bruce at the field of

1. See also Millar, Government, p.213 (ed. 1787), for a similar remark.

2. Letters, I, 285.

Bannockburn."¹ It is hard to find this type of thing in the earlier Scott, who is a cool 18th Century scholar. (See, for example the notes to The Lord of the Isles, 1815). It is equally hard to find it in his later private letters and Journal; clearly, the evangelical revival overtook ~~with~~ Sir Walter Scott somewhere in the 1820's, to the extent at least of obliging him to modify his public mode of utterance in deference to it - unconsciously, no doubt. Mansfield Park, written 1813-14, marks a similar change in Jane Austen.

Scott's philosophy of history cannot, then, be described as advanced; philosophy in general had no appeal to him at all, and there is no evidence that he had ever heard of Vico, who was beginning to come into favour in Scott's time after a long eclipse. A propos of Julian the Apostate, he says, "we cannot attribute soundness of understanding to the man of education who could prefer the mysterious jargon of Plato's philosophy and the coarse polytheism of the heathen religion to the pure simplicity of the gospel"² - surely the most unfortunate remark ever to escape that distinguished pen, even if by "Plato's philosophy" we understand "Neoplatonism." It lacks the saving humour of Oldbuck's reference to "Porphyry's universals ... with such other lousy legerdemains, and fruits of the bottomless pit."³

1. "Lardner" History, I, 122.

2. Grandfather, VI, 40 (French hist.).

3. Antiquary, I, 262.

"Mysterious jargon" is a good phrase, used by Hume to describe Puritan preaching,¹ but its application by Scott is less happy.

It is hardly necessary at this stage to emphasise the fact, already made obvious enough in the preceding pages, that Scott's history was predominantly "popular"; that it consisted, that is to say, largely of stories about people, many of which were anecdotes about private or semi-private life. Persons who read Grandfather after a course of modern historical books, will be particularly struck by this feature. Provincial Antiquities contains little technical description, but many stories about former inhabitants of the castles etc. described. What does need emphasising is that Scott is not "popular" in the bad sense, writing with superficial knowledge and slight research; nor is he popular in the "romantic" sense of Robert Chambers. In spite of a little touching-up, Scott generally gives both the substance and spirit of the older writers from whom he draws. Writing about the battle of Dunbar, Thomas Carlyle says: "The moon gleams out, hard and blue, riding among hail-clouds; and over St. Abb's Head, a streak of dawn is rising." Further, when the action approaches, "the trumpets peal, shattering with fierce clangour Night's silence."² Nothing could be more foreign to Scott's narrative style, and nothing brings out more clearly the essentially pre-romantic

1. Hume's History (ed. 1812) VI, 390.

2. Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. (ed. 1904), II, 99.

quality of his writing. His own account of Dunbar has the cool, level manner of an earlier age.¹ None the less, there is one "literary" feature in Scott's historical writing which sometimes attracts attention, especially in Napoleon; to wit, a fondness for similes. The eloquence, says Scott, of those who supported Napoleon's proposal to take the title of Emperor "resembled nothing so much as the pleading of a wily procuress, who endeavours to persuade some simple maiden," etc.² (This is only the most entertaining, not the most characteristic, of these flights). Perhaps the propagandist feeling behind the Napoleon makes the writing more eloquent than usual. This tendency is not derived from the Scottish historical writers, and doubtless reflects Scott's literary background: he may have learned the practice from Homer or Virgil.

Scott's sense of humour undoubtedly helps to establish a low average emotional temperature, and justice calls for an attempt to illustrate this feature, in spite of the well-known tendency of jokes to misfire. The brewers who went on "strike" in Edinburgh in 1725 are described rather neatly as "refractory fermentators;"³ the indisputably heavy tendency of Scott's style is frequently redeemed by things like this. On the ballad of Mary Hamilton, and the tradition of the Queen's

1. Grandfather, III, 93 ff.

2. Napoleon, V, 7.

3. Grandfather, V, 13.

Maries, he says "If this corps continued to consist of young virgins, as when originally raised, it could hardly have subsisted without occasional recruits, especially if we trust our old bard, and John Knox."¹ On the opposing armies at Dunbar, he says, "In the English army, the officers insisted upon being preachers, and though their doctrines was wild enough, their ignorance of theology had no effect on military events. But with the Scots, the Presbyterian clergy were unhappily seized with the opposite rage of acting as officers and generals, and their skill in their own profession of divinity could not redeem the errors which they committed in the art of war."² Even the "Lardner" History, in the course of which the author's brain began to give way, has some good things. St. Margaret used "vessels of gold and silver plate, or at least, says the candid Turgot, such as were lacquered over so as to have that appearance."³ Of James III's lowborn favourites, Hommil the tailor was "not the least important in the conclave, if we may judge from the extent of the royal wardrobe, of which a voluminous catalogue is preserved."⁴ This jest was, clearly, furnished by the researches of Thomas Thomson. On Queen Mary's return from France, "two or three hundred violinists, apparently amateur performers, held a concert all night below her windows."⁵

1. Minstrelsy, III, 303.

2. Grandfather, III, 90.

3. Lardner, History, I, 57.

4. Lardner History, I, 317.

5. Ibid., II, 77.

Even the pathetic Grandfather, French series, can prove that Scott's sense of humour was the last quality to desert him. Henry II of England must have come to consider himself reconciled with St. Thomas Becket, for when the shrine at Canterbury became fashionable, the King more than once went there with foreign notables, "acting thus as a sort of master of the ceremonies to his former Chancellor, whom indeed he had the principal hand in raising to his state of beatitude."¹ - Scott's humour is exceptional among the historians, apart perhaps from Hume and Stiles.

The last topic for discussion in this section is impartiality. Although Scott occasionally displays that anthropological detachment which forms such an excellent feature of John Millar's books, his normal position is that he has decided sympathies for or against, which he resolutely controls in the interests of fair play, so that the result is, in general, highly satisfactory. It would be too much, doubtless, to expect a poet to remain emotionally uninvolved for long. Another thing which makes his writing very human, if not very scientific, is a marked tendency to sympathise with the "underdog;" so that he is anti-Charles I before 1642 and pro-Charles I thereafter, or anti-Covenant before 1660 and much less so for the period 1660-1689.

1. Grandfather, VI, 231.

There is a popular belief that Scott idealised the past, which, like many popular beliefs, is ill-founded. From beginning to end, he regarded the present as something to be thankful for, and specifically teaches that doctrine to his grandson;¹ he shared the 18th Century's appreciation of the recently-won blessing of domestic peace, scarcely alloyed by the continuance of foreign war, which affected life in Britain comparatively very little. Throughout, he emphasises the barbarism and lawlessness of the past, and the emphasis is particularly strong in such a paper as his review of Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, where the subject-matter is calculated to bring his attitude right out into the open.² The positive dislike and contempt for much of the past which we have already noted in some of his predecessors, was, of course, much modified in Scott; he found the barbarous past, not revolting, but picturesque - yet it was still the barbarous past, as detailed consideration of his treatment of a number of historical periods will show.

Tribal society is represented in Scott's historical writing by the pre-1745 Highland clans and the pre-1603 Border septs. The virtues of a barbarous people, says Scott, are "founded, not upon moral principle, but upon the dreams of superstition, or the capricious dictates of ancient custom;"³ and this remark strikes the keynote.

1. Grandfather, IV, 109.

2. See also Poetical Works, XII, 243.

3. Minstrelsy, I, 173.

He was very anti-Ossianic, and was sorry to see Robert Henry, so learned and accurate, "painfully pursuing his course by the guidance of such an ignis fatuus."¹ While allowing that Macpherson was not quite a 100% fraud, he points out the differences between the Macpherson fabrications and the genuine Ossianic ballads of the Highlands, in such a manner as to make clear his own attitude to tribal society; his observations, while perfectly true, are markedly unsympathetic. The real Ossianic ballad, he says, displays no scenery, and no sentiment; an intrigue of passion is narrated "as plainly as it would have been in a case of crim. con.;" and "the venerable Ossian tells his story to St. Patrick in the style of a half-pay officer describing his campaigns to a country parson."² Scott allows that there are finely poetic passages in the genuine ballads, but points maliciously to the story of ^{the} warrior who knocked his neighbour at a banquet on the head "for disputing with him the property of a beef-steak dressed with onion sauce,"³ and wonders what has become of Macpherson's courtly, chivalrous gentlemen. Bursts of generosity may occur, but they arise "from the feeling of the moment, and not from the fixed principles acquired in a civilised society."⁴

1. Edinburgh Review, July 1805, Article XV, p.431, Review of "Ossian."

2. Ibid., 441.

3. Ibid., 446.

4. Ibid., 447.

As if he felt it his duty to campaign against the nonsense of Macpherson, Dalrymple, and J. J. Rousseau, Scott loads his account of the Highlands with atrocity stories.¹ There is an instructive one about the Gordons and Grants; they attacked the Farquharsons, slew all adults, and found themselves encumbered with two hundred orphan children, whom Huntly took home with him. Some time after, Grant dined with Huntly, and after dinner was shown some "rare sport." Host and guest went to a balcony overlooking the kitchen, and saw the remains of the servants' dinner flung at random into a large trough; a whistle blew, a dog-kennel hatch was raised, and a wild mob of shrieking, half-naked children rushed in and flung themselves on the foodstuffs, all struggling, biting, and scratching for the lion's share. Grant was not amused; his host was tired of the joke; so the children were taken by Grant, dispersed among his clan, and decently brought up.

It happens that Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections preserve, in Vol. I, p.111, among the Grant pedigrees, an earlier account of this incident, by James Chapman, minister of Cromdale 1702-37. "These miserable orphans were out of pity and commiseration carried by the Earl of Huntly into his castle, where they were maintained and fed.

1. See esp. Grandfather, Chs. 39-40.

Thus a long trough of wood was made, wherein was put pottage or any other kind of food allowed them, and the young ones sitting round about the trough did eat their meat out of it as well as they could. James the Laird of Grant at a time visiting the Earl was for diversion's sake brought to see the orphans slabbing at their trough. Which comical sight so surprised him that he proposed to carry the one half of them to Balchastle, alleging that having a hand in destroying their parents he was bound in justice to take a concern in their maintenance."

This account obviously permits a much more charitable view of the story. Huntly showed humanity by taking the children in, and the trough was devised as an expedient for feeding an abnormally large group of children - perhaps much less repulsive to the 16th Century Highland mind than a long barrack-room table is to the mind of the 20th Century. The phrase "for diversion's sake" does not necessarily mean that Huntly and Grant went to gloat over the orphans; and Grant, in proposing to take half of them - not all, as Scott says - was only offering to take a fair share. Chapman, according to Sir William Fraser,¹ is a poor authority; but even if there is no historical truth in his story at all, it seems reasonably consistent with the facts of Highland life in early periods. Even in the 18th Century,

1. Chiefs of Grant (1883), I, 2.

an Englishman who entered the service of a Highland laird was surprised to find that a parcel of dirty, half-naked children whom he observed infesting the kitchen were not the offspring of some poor tenant, but the laird's own family.¹ Scott's version of the Farquharson story reflects the point of view of his own time, and this is the real weakness in his use of traditions about the Highlands. Had these been put in writing in greater quantity before 1745, he could not have gone so far wrong; this is undoubtedly one reason why his treatment of the Highlands is so much below his own standards.

In spite of the insight he displayed in rejecting "Ossian," Scott seems never quite to have realised that Highland society - semi-feudal, semi-tribal - formed, during the weakness of the so-called central government, a miniature concert of nations, whose wars were not necessarily more engrossing, ruinous, or repulsive than those of larger and more highly organised communities. Yet John Jamieson made the point quite specifically;² so did Stewart of Garth,³ and so did Lord Selkirk.⁴ In Grandfather (IV, 272), Scott quotes Mar's summons to some vassals in 1715, which included a threat to burn their houses if they failed to appear; he is horrified at this, as if it were not

1. Burt's Letters, No. 22.

2. Burt's Letters, Ed. 1818, Jamieson's Introduction.

3. Sketches, App., p.xxxix.

4. Observations on ... Highlands of Scotland (2nd Ed. 1806), App. p.xxi.

the primitive equivalent of a call-up notice, carrying an intimation of the penalties for disobedience. Obviously, then, Scott shared the 18th Century view that a community whose government could not show a developed apparatus of civil, military and naval departments, was lawless and disorderly.

Naturally, there are reservations to be made. Not infrequently Scott deplored the loss of those close personal relations between laird and peasant which are a necessary feature of both tribal and feudal society.¹ In his Culloden Papers review, besides including some horrid stories - the Farquharson one inter alia - he also gives a sober and admirable account of the Highland patriarchal society, with a sound analogy between the Highland clans and the Afghan tribes, prompted by the reading of Elphinstone's new book.² In the same review, and also in the Rob Roy Introduction, he describes the old Highland custom of kidnapping one's future wife and marrying her by force, with a certain very natural "bourgeois" distaste; but he adds that a Highland woman of his own acquaintance ~~pooh~~-poohed his disgust, defended the practice, and assured him that her own mother had never seen her father before he kidnapped her, and yet they had been a very happy couple. This sounds like a genuine bit of evidence for the attitude of Highlanders to Highland life, and Scott half sees the point:

1. e.g. Antiquary, II, 117; Letters, IV, 123, 310, 316; Letters, VII, 295; X, 337.
2. Letters, IV, 168-9; See also the Review itself.

"The greater or less degree of violence did not, in these wild times, appear a matter of much consequence;"¹ "the imagination of the half-civilised Highlanders was less shocked at the idea ... than might be expected from their general kindness to the weaker sex."²

"The dictum "we must not judge of the feelings of a rude age by those of a modern one" did not fail to produce some result; but there can be no doubt that, in general, his attitude conforms to all but the best and worst thought of his time. All the same, it may be said that he performed a public service in this matter: as time passes, what was repulsive to outside observers becomes picturesque, and then idealised; in rejecting the idealisations of Macpherson and Dalrymple, he at least popularised, in the picturesque, a position of greater realism.

On the kindred topic of the Old Irish, Scott insisted that these unfortunate people were a prey to the English, yet retains the view that they were savages.³ In writing about the Borders, he emphasises throughout the disorders, bloodshed, and cruelty of Border life before 1603,⁴ although the 'Border Antiquities' Essay is cooler. Other early or foreign cultures are only occasionally touched upon, but when they are, they fare no better; we can find a pitying description

1. Prose Works, XX, 64.

2. Rob Roy, I, 70-71.

3. Somers Tracts I: "Image of Ireland", notes, esp. p.558.

4. Minstrelsy, passim; Grandfather, II, 277.

of the Australian aborigines, a sweeping condemnation of Eastern despotism, and a somewhat contemptuous account of Hindu mythology.¹

Our own first millenium fares indifferently at Scott's hand. There is a long and reasonably cool academic account of the problems in the Review of Ritson's Annals of the Caledonians; but in his Journal, Scott records his work on this article with the remark that it is "rather a dry topic;" as well try to interest the public in the leather trade.² He might, indeed, mean "dry" from the point of view of general readers, not his own, and Oldbuck's description of the ancient Pictish and Scottish king-lists as "unbaptised jargon"³ appears likewise ambiguous; but then Scott uses this phrase again, in his own person, in the Ritson Review, and finally comes right out into the open in the "Lardner" History, where he reprobates "the disgusting task of recording obscure and ferocious contests, fought by leaders with unpronounceable names ... a war maintained between kites and crows."⁴ Alexander III's genealogy, as recited at his coronation in 1249, "must have sounded like an invocation of the fiends."⁵ On our pre-Christian ancestors, he says "the imaginary beings whom they adored were the personification of their own evil pursuits and passions," "but all was well when "the Sun of Righteousness

1. Grandfather, II, 222; I, 188; "Curse of Kehama" Review, 308, 330, 332. (in Misc. Prose Works, Vol. XVII).

2. Journal, 613-4.

3. Antiquary, I, 101.

4. Lardner History, I, 13.

5. Ibid. I. 45.

arose with healing under his wings."¹ The Scott of 1800 might have been surprised to find himself penning these evangelical observations; but on the secular side he can never have had much interest in the Scottish Dark Age; shortage of records makes its annals very impersonal, and more congenial to the detective than the poet. Even the Heptarchy, which, comparatively speaking, basks in meridian sunshine, was dismissed by the young Scott as obscure and uninteresting,² in the spirit of Hume.

On the later mediaeval period - 12th to 15th Centuries - Scott's writing is much more successful; the "barbarism" of the period is made much more prominent than one might think, but his interest in Barbour, Froissart, and other writers enables him to achieve a sort of balance, although the sociologist's detachment was beyond his reach.

"Encyclopaedia Britannica", 11th-13th Edition, Article 'Middle Ages', censures Romanticism, naming Scott in particular, for "extravagant praise of all that savoured of the Middle Ages" and for regarding it as the age of romance and chivalry. There is much to be said for the latter part of the statement; the life and ideas of the governing class would naturally be the first to attract the attention of historians, and must remain very important even after knowledge has been extended in other parts of the field. But then, chivalry was

1. Ibid., I, 8.

2. Minstrelsy, I, 297.

admired before the Romantic period; and Scott's admiration for it is seriously qualified. Although he respected its ideals, he thought they imposed too much strain upon poor human nature,¹ and developed this idea at length, showing how devotion became superstition, love became licentiousness, loyalty and freedom became tyranny and turmoil, gallantry became hare-brained absurdity. An evil influence was exercised by the Crusading movement, ultimately responsible, he says, for Spanish cruelty in the New World;² and Scott reprobates an age whose romances could attribute cannibalism to Richard I in Palestine.³ These same romances show how mediaeval ladies were far from being stained-glass saints, or even from being ordinarily respectable; on the contrary, they made the first "advances" on all occasions, with a vivacity worthy of Potiphar's wife.⁴ As for the notion that women were placed on a pedestal, Scott remarks that the sons-in-law of the Cid beat their wives without incurring odium, if we are to trust the romance.⁵ Scott finds the seamy side of chivalry even in Froissart; the daily orisons and almsgivings of the Earl of Foix, his love of hunting, and other chivalrous attributes, were far more than enough to counterbalance his treacherous murder of a cousin, and his "cutting with his own hands the throat of his only son, who had most

1. Essay on Chivalry, 43.

2. Ibid., 18-19.

3. Review, Ellis' Romances (Prose Works, XVII, 50).

4. Review, Amadis de Gaul, 21 (Prose Works, XVIII).

5. Review, The Cid, 69 (Prose Works, XVIII).

unreasonably refused to eat his dinner."¹ The partiality for subtle discussion exhibited by the schoolmen, and in the Courts of Love, is dismissed as "puerile and extravagant,"² "absurd disquisition", and so on.

Other features of mediaeval life are treated with the same lack of ceremony. Trial by ordeal was "absurd", and Scott revives the suggestion of fraudulent practice.³ Touching for the "King's Evil" was a "farce."⁴ The number of references to superstition, credulity, and ignorance, must be reasonably well up to average.

Although, as we have seen, Scott valued the close personal relationships of tribal and feudal life, he also maintained that too much depended on the personal character of the superior,⁵ and there is plenty of denunciation of feudal tyranny in the historical commentary of such novels as Ivanhoe, or Anne of Geierstein, where the Swiss are compared favourably with their baronial neighbours as champions of the best kind of democracy and freedom.⁶ The over-mighty nobility of Scotland is deplored;⁷ although Scott could also echo the view that the power of the nobility could check an overmighty king.

1. Review, Johnes' Froissart, 121 (Prose Works, XIX).

2. Chivalry, 39. ⁴²⁶⁻⁹

3. Sir Tristrem, 4269; Grandfather, VI, 60.

4. Memorie of the Somervilles, I, 51 n.

5. Grandfather, V, 409.

6. Grandfather, I, 185.

7. Grandfather, I, 180.

As Scott has always been labelled as a eulogist of the Middle Ages, it seems unnecessary to enter upon a detailed exposition of his enthusiasm for the gallantry of brave knights, as expounded in Froissart and Barbour; we may take that for granted. The important thing to notice is the current - not just the undercurrent - of realistic criticism combined with sheer anti-mediaeval prejudice, which, mingling with his enthusiasm, produces such an interesting blend, and, on the whole, such a sane view. As for the contention that Scott had a nostalgia for the Middle Ages, that is quite mistaken. "We have the best of it," he said;¹ the actions in which our ancestors fought and bled are tales to beguile the winter evening, and to heighten our appreciation of present blessings.

On the subject of the old church and the Reformation, Scott was utterly orthodox. In Grandfather, he follows the custom of Protestant historians, who, on reaching the year 1517 or thereabouts, dash into an account of the Abuses of the Church, as a concert pianist romps into the finale of a Beethoven concerto. But Scott's chapter, although on conventional lines, contains little, if any, genuine denominational acid; he neither satirises the old church with stories of its immoral priesthood, nor does he revel in ^{Protestant} martyrdoms.

1. Canongate, 143.

He suggested that the real cause of much of the trouble was the excessive demand made upon the priest by his ideals and his rules¹ - a hint he was to follow up in fiction, and a typical product of his practical mind. - In the matter of Queen Mary, for a time the hope of the Catholic cause, he follows Hume and Robertson with a verdict of "Guilty" in the Darnley matter, an interest in her notable qualities, and compassion for her sufferings.

It is well-known that, in spite of a strict Presbyterian upbringing, Sir Walter Scott imbibed (quite early, if we may trust his Autobiography)² Tory and episcopal views, but always of a very moderate complexion.³ A frugal, "low-church" episcopacy retaining Presbyterian features was his ideal for Scotland, because, firstly, it suited a poor country, and secondly, it offered a reasonable compromise between parties in the historical situation of Scotland, a state where the Reformation had been carried through by pressure from below upon an unwilling Crown. He thought the famous "superintendents" of 1560 practically amounted to bishops,⁴ although he does not discuss them much, and tends, also, to steer rather clear of John Knox. Personally, Scott regarded the system of James VI as sound in principle, and could see nothing in the Five Articles of Perth for anyone to be worried about.

1. Chivalry, 43.

2. Lockhart, I, 24.

3. Kirkton Review, 219 ff.; Minstrelsy, II, 156 ff.; Grandfather, II, 267 ff.

4. Kirkton Review, 222
(Prose Works VTY).

These views are a reflection of 18th Century admiration for compromise and toleration, and, like others of his period, Scott could not quite forgive our 17th Century ancestors for not practising these virtues. Accordingly, he offers a series of condemnations of whichever party happened to be in power, for fanaticism, intolerance and cruelty, or at the very least, ill-advised actions! The phrase "two fierce contending factions in a half-civilised country" is very characteristic.¹ The innovations of James VI and Charles I were ill-advised and little more; but Scott is very severe on the Covenant in the days of its ascendancy,² and equally severe upon the other party after its return to power in 1660. In fact, his chapters on the Covenanting period in "Grandfather,"³ while they do not forget to describe the fanaticism and superstition of the proscribed extremists, could easily have been written by a moderate Presbyterian; Scott dissociated himself explicitly from C.K. Sharpe's Tory hostility to the Covenant and partiality for his namesake the Archbishop.⁴ We see here, perhaps, the influence of Scott's education, his sympathy for the weaker party, the question of the 1688 Revolution and its

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1. Letters, II, 59, Kirkton Review, 255; also Minstrelsy, II, 206; Grandfather, III, 30; Legend, 39; Heart of Midlothian, I, 13.
 2. Grandfather, III, 30, Kirkton Review, 232 ff.
 3. Ch. 49-53; see also Minstrelsy, II, 199-245.
 4. Kirkton Review, 239.

justification, together with his strong liking for the Covenanting literary classics, of which more anon. He left the Covenant in possession of one of its stories; all the martyrologies report that Argyle, executed in 1685, embraced the Scottish guillotine, known as the Maiden, and declared it was "the sweetest Maiden he had ever kissed." Scott repeats this,¹ although he must have known that the man who embraced the "maiden" was named by Nicoll the Diarist² as the Royalist Hay of Dalgetie, executed by the Covenanters in 1650, whereas Argyle, according to Fountainhall (edited by Scott himself) testified some horror at the sight of the instrument and had to be guided to it blindfold.³ (Although Nicoll was not published till 1836, Scott had a MS. copy).⁴ - Scott accepts, as the best solution of the difficulties, the Presbyterian establishment of 1689, shorn as it was of its theocratic claims, and compatible as it has proved in that form to be, with "Good order, liberty of conscience, and a limited monarchy."⁵ The laudable impartiality thus achieved by the historian is perhaps a trifle alloyed by that basic criticism of both parties which runs through his account.

1. Grandfather, III, 281.

2. Bannatyne ed., p.15.

3. Chronological Notices, p.54; Hist. Observes (Bannatyne Club), I, 193.

4. Letter, VIII, 434.

5. Kirkton Review, 265.

In the case of the English civil troubles, which went on parallel with those of Scotland, Scott's position is rather different. He believed that however unnecessary the Civil War was in the eyes of rational people,¹ yet the English conducted their quarrels in the 17th Century with less ferocity than the Scots, and as the century wears on, seems to think of them more and more as civilised contemporaries, with some reservations, no doubt, about the dissolute manners of Charles II's court. The road is thus open for the adoption of a simple Royalist or Tory viewpoint, controlled by wholehearted acceptance of the 1688 Revolution. This is what happens, to a great extent. The royal prerogative was unwarrantably extended, not by the Stewarts, but by the Tudors.² Scott is always ready to laugh at the absurdities of the Independents-Praise-God-Barebones, etc.; but he is always less biting and malicious than Hume. He cannot away with Cromwell, adopting a critical attitude towards him and towards republicans in general.³ He abhors equally the exploiters of the Popish Plot, and the flirtations of British Kings with Catholicism; he detests the developments in the direction of absolutism which took place before 1688. He is wholly orthodox on the Glorious Revolution, and is exceptionally generous, for a Tory and a Scot, in his appreciation

1. Woodstock, I, 276.

2. Grandfather, II, 346, 372; III, 65.

3. See Somers Tracts, Vols. IV-VII.

of King William (apart from Darien and Glencoe). Little, if any, party prejudice is visible in his handling of Whig-Tory politics in the reign of Anne. - As Scott wrote no History of England, the views just outlined are to be sought chiefly in his voluminous annotation of the Somers Tracts, Dryden, and Swift; the Somers Tracts also contain much impartial writing on the Jacobite movement between 1689 and 1714.

One really characteristic point emerges, however, from all this orthodoxy. Scott added, to his edition of Somers, a noticeably large number of tracts on the affair of Strafford's attainder (see post, Appendix III~~x~~): and his annotation to this part of the collection shows that he took very much to heart the action of Charles I in abandoning his servant to the rage of the Parliament.¹ This preoccupation with the individual point of honour, whilst it is, like everything Scott wrote, honourable to his heart and feelings, is also characteristic of a historian who was less sure in handling the relationships of groups, than in handling those of individuals. And when his sympathies veer round to Charles again, the reason is not only that the Parliament went too far in its attack on the prerogative, but also that the King's misfortunes were so heavy: "if he sowed the wind, he reaped the whirlwind;"² "My heart only goes with King Charles

1. e.g. Somers, IV, 246.

2. Letters, III, 311.

in his struggles and distresses for the fore part of his reign was a series of misconduct."¹ The biographical type of treatment might well be called predominant in Scott's history.

It is probably generally believed that Scott was guilty of initiating the sentimental vice known as "Charlie-over-the-water-ism;" but nothing could be more untrue. Certainly, he regarded the sudden eruption into a civilised country of a small army of unknown mountaineers as a very interesting occurrence;² he also thought the '45 campaign was interesting as the one brilliant phase in the otherwise obscure and not always creditable career of Charles Edward (whom Scott never calls "Bonnie Prince Charlie");³ and in so thinking, Scott was surely not far wrong. While admitting that he was a Jacobite by sentiment, Scott declared in the same breath that he was a Hanoverian by conviction.⁴ In Grandfather, he specifically warns the reader of the existence of strong anti-Jacobite feeling in Scotland both in 1715 and 1745;⁵ the existence of powerful Hanoverian clans in the Highlands is also duly noted, and therefore he cannot be held responsible for the legend that the Jacobite revolts were national risings against English rule. Although John Home was in the Hanoverian

1. Ibid.

2. Culloden Papers Review, 2-3 (Prose Works, XX).

3. Ibid., 6.

4. Letters, III, 302; IV, 486; XII, 197.

5. Grandfather, IV, 264; 273, 280, 301; V, 213, 310, 312, 411.

army in 1745, and Scott was a "sentimental" Jacobite, yet the similarity in tone between the accounts of the '45 written by these two men is quite surprising. They display, not the fervour of prejudice, but merely the enjoyment of an observer keenly interested in whatever goes on; of an observer whose interest is heightened by a personal acquaintance with people on both sides of the quarrel. Scott's concluding pages in Grandfather (V, 400 ff), are worthy of special attention: he mentions the possible results of a Jacobite victory - restoration of arbitrary power and so on - makes the point that the clan system can hardly survive in the modern world, and in general proves that his natural regret at the sight of "change and decay" has had no real effect on his 18th Century conviction that things are best as they are. He could never really accept the negation of 1688.

It is impossible to imagine what Scott's history would be like without his love of country - Scottish and British, although the Scottish aspect is no doubt the more prominent. Perhaps the most convincing and effective expression of his feeling for Scotland is to ^{be} found at the end of the Minstrelsy Introduction.¹ Speaking of his efforts towards the preservation of Border lore, as a contribution to Scottish history and also as a species of memorial, in view of the rapid Anglicisation of the

1. Minstrelsy, I, 297.

country, he says, "trivial as may appear such an offering to the manes of a kingdom, once proud and independent, I hang it upon her altar with a mixture of feelings which I shall not attempt to describe."

Yet in his attitude to the English he was quite as temperate as his predecessors; even when criticising Edward I, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth - the unholy trinity of Scottish history - he does not overstep the limits of fair comment. Exceptionally, however, he gave some rein to indignation in the matter of the Darien scheme and the Union.

On the Darien Scheme, Burnet, followed by Laing, and in recent years by Professor Pryde,¹ defended William III on the ground that he was obliged to avoid offending the Spaniards if he hoped to succeed in his efforts to check the overweening power of France. Scott half-admits this in one place,² yet at the same time he suggests that the Spaniards were virtually invited by William, under English pressure, to attack Darien.³ Scott was not good at seeing British affairs as part of a European picture. Again, Burnet⁴ - still followed by Prof. Pryde - asserts that the Scottish company was in part an English scheme to evade the monopoly of the East India Company by starting a rival just over the Border, out of reach of English law; but Scott never

1. G.S. Pryde, Scotland from 1603 to the Present Day, p.48.

2. Grandfather, IV, 48.

3. Ibid., IV, 44.

4. Burnet, Own Time (1st Ed.) II, 158 ff.

mentions this, though he was "weel acquaint wi' Burnet, an' ither chaps," such as Laing. Scott's view is not original - one similar in many respects may be found in Sir John Dalrymple; but in expounding it, his usual fairness and temperateness have deserted him.

On the Union, Scott was rather bitter, although he was persuaded of its long-term advantages. He admits the iniquity of Captain Green's judicial murder,¹ but he deals unfairly with certain provisions of the treaty. The allocation of 45 Scottish M.P.'s to the House of Commons, falling between the higher number which would result from representation by population, and the lower number which would result from representation by wealth, is condemned on the undefended assumption that representation should have been by population only.² The point had been clearly put by Burnet, and deserved at least an answer. The kindred matter of the 16 representative peers is similarly treated. The charge of unpatriotic venality against the Union's supporters is made, and the connected claim that the great majority of Scots did not want Union; these controversies have perhaps not yet been finally cleared up,³ in spite of G. S. Pryde's book, "The Act of Union;" but it is certain that Scott wrote in this case under undue influence from partisan feeling.

1. Grandfather, IV, 64.

2. Grandfather, IV, 68; Somers, XII, 514.

3. W. Ferguson.

These cases, however, are mentioned, not as examples, but as exceptions. As a rule, Scott was not hot enough for his public; when he stated¹ that the Scots found a leader in Sir William Wallace, some reader of Edinburgh University's copy of the "Lardner" History subjoined in pencil the words "the valiant assertor of Scottish rights;" when Scott remarked that Wallace showed fear "only on one occasion," these words were altered to read "on ~~no~~ occasion." Such things indicate the background of popular sentiment against which the historians worked, and it is only fair to the historians to mention them.

If the evidence here offered can be trusted, Sir Walter Scott as historian was very much a man of his age, and more particularly a man of the later 18th Century - neither much ahead of the times, nor yet behind them. Like his contemporaries, he was a keen reader of source material and promoter of its publication; like an important group of them, he favoured a broadening of the scope of history, both in theory and in practice (witness the Minstrelsy); like them, he attempted the "general" as well as the "popular", biographical and moralistic in his writing; and, like all but a very few, he achieved at his best, not scientific detachment, but a high degree of restraint and fair dealing within the limits imposed by the well-marked prejudices

1. "Lardner" History, I, 71.

of the time. For Scott, as for most contemporaries - excluding the sociologists and the Rousseauesque cranks - the past, whether primitive, mediaeval, or Oriental, was more or less barbarous, in spite of the attractions of chivalry; and in the field of modern British history, he chose his side, as others did. If he differed from them, it was in giving more enthusiastic prominence to chivalry, in writing a history (the Grandfather) whose intensely "popular", anecdotal character is unique, and in qualifying his Toryism with a singularly attractive humour, humanity, temperance, and fairness of statement. (Even his least successful effort in this respect, the Napoleon, might have been much worse). But in at least one matter of detail - the growing prominence of the evangelical tone - he is obviously not a leader, but a follower of the contemporary trend.

In estimating Scott's standing as a historian, study of his work seems to show that the judgement of Thomas Thomson (quoted ante, in the Introduction) will do very well, with some amendment in tone. Scott's bad texts, and general avoidance of the more austere side of record work; his inaccuracy in detail, frequent and sometimes gross; his tendency to accept dubious, or worse, authorities; and the lack of distinction on the analytical and philosophical side - all these are to be admitted, but against them must be placed the perhaps elusive but still very real quality of greatness which his writings derive from

his knowledge, his experience, his uniquely full and fine personality. For really reliable factual or theoretical exposition, no one will read Scott; but for a buoyant profusion of biographical and traditional narrative, full of zest and compassion - what George Eliot called, speaking of the novels, a "wealth of joy and noble grief" - it is hard to see how he can be superseded. Lockhart hoped that Napoleon would find his Livy in Scott; this hope was disappointed, but if we give up Napoleon, France, and Europe, who else has a better title to be called the British Livy?

PART II: SCOTT AS HISTORICAL NOVELIST

A. Scott's opinions on historical fiction

For Scott the story-teller, history, both written and traditional, was a reservoir of material; an extension of that personal experience which is the basis of all creative work. Old books were for him a quarry,¹ the possession of which relieved him from all fears that he might work himself out.² He speaks of "supplying [i.e. supplementing] his own indolence or poverty of invention", but this of course is his modest way of saying that his huge background of reading and his powerful memory provide him with a source of endless suggestiveness and stimulus.³

This does not mean that a novelist can simply "read up" a period and then write a story about it. Historical knowledge can enlarge the writer's stock of experience effectively only if it is deep as well as wide; something which, through long familiarity, has sunk deep into his mind, and has become part of himself. Only thus can a historical novel escape the charge of being voulu, and therefore unconvincing. Herein, said Scott, lay the decisive advantage he possessed over his imitators.⁴

1. Canongate, 13.

2. Letters, V, 445.

3. See Ivanhoe. Introductory Epistle, and Canongate, Introduction.

4. Journal, p.248.

The novelist seeks to exploit his quarry in two ways. Firstly, he looks for hints to be worked up in fiction. In comparison with the finished work, the original suggestion may well seem insignificant; yet it cannot be so, since it was needed to set the creative process in motion.¹ Anything which provided opportunities for artistic contrast was welcomed by Scott - Norman and Saxon, Highland and Lowland, Huguenot and Catholic,² Richard and Saladin - all these and others are praised for their suitability. Special value attached to historical events and persons which were already known to the public, as being on that account likely to facilitate the novelist's reception. Quentin Durward, for example, had "unusual success on the continent, where the historical allusions awakened more familiar ideas" than they did in England, or than the Scotch and English novels awakened abroad.³ In this respect, he followed the example of the mediaeval romancers, who based their compositions on traditional subjects and familiar names. "An air of authenticity was thus obtained; the prejudices of the audience conciliated; and the feudal baron believed as firmly in the exploits of Roland and Oliver as a sturdy Celt of our day in the equally sophisticated poems of Ossian."⁴ Scott made one proviso here, however; it was clearly

1. Peveril, I, 64.

2. Waverley, I, 116.

3. Quentin Durward, I, 16.

4. Review, Amadis de Gaul, 6 (Prose Works, XVIII).

inadvisable for the novelist to use events already fully described by a well-known historian, since any departure from well-established truth would have a disagreeable effect; the case of Columbus is specifically mentioned.¹ Nothing is permissible which would inhibit the characteristic activity of free development from a basic suggestion.

But secondly, Scott was not prepared to carry out the process of development without further assistance from his pool of historical knowledge. Whereas the Baron of Bradwardine "only cumbered his memory with matters of fact; the cold, dry, hard outlines which history delineates," "Edward, on the contrary loved to fill up and round the sketch with the colouring of a warm and vivid imagination";² and one might suppose that this delightful process was to take place as it were in a vacuum. In fact, however, the stores of history had a key role to play here too, by providing in part, that wealth of minute detail about individual life which Scott favoured, as we have already seen, even in formal historical composition, and which was at least as useful in fiction as the principal means of lending verisimilitude to the narrative. For Scott, if a story is thus detailed, it is life-like and interesting; if it is general, it is dull. His taste was Homeric rather than Virgilian. So often is this point made

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1. Letters, IV, 475. See also Letters, III, 234; Journal, 573; Fair Maid, I, 24-5.
 2. Waverley, I, 210.

by Scott that we must regard it as of fundamental importance for his art.¹ He clearly regarded himself as a worker in the school of Defoe and Swift, specially qualified by nature and training.

Caution is required, however; not all minute circumstances are useable. Specific sayings and doings can hardly fail to interest; but mere antiquarian detail about the customs of past ages, being impersonal in character, may very easily become boring.² Sir Walter thought, however, that this mistake was more likely to be made by the novelist who "crammed" for the task, than by himself, though he did admit the possibility that he himself might have sinned in this regard. - Again, thefts from history must not be too open; Scott condemned the man who lifted long passages from Defoe's Plague Year.³

In deciding whether or not to attempt a given topic from history, Scott applied these two criteria. The Armada was rejected⁴ as already too well known; for Pocahontas, Scott did not possess the necessary familiarity with American and Indian manners.⁵ King Alfred would not do because the novelist had "no clear idea either of the country in which Alfred warred or of the manners of the Saxons of his day";⁶

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1. Letters, IV, 475; VI, 266; VII, 352; Journal, 583; Swift Memoir, 437; Lives, I, 335, 415.
 2. Journal, 248; Waverley, I, 15.
 3. Journal, 248-9.
 4. Lockhart, III, 417.
 5. Letters, VII, 81.
 6. Letters, III, 234.

a sea-story was equally out of the question, since his own ignorance of the sea would oblige him to be either dull or fantastic.¹ Modern readers of Scott may be surprised to hear that he regarded himself as a realist even in writing his narrative poems; but there is no doubt that he did. He told a correspondent² that Marmion was intended to display "ancient costume, diction, and manners," not his "own ingenuity in making an ideal world", nor yet generalised descriptions which would fit a tale of the Iroquois as well as one about feudal Europe.³ The Lady of the Lake was undertaken with some qualms, because the poet distrusted his own Highland background, and he refused to follow James Macpherson into the imaginary world of his Ossianic poems. (Scott, as we have seen, was an obstinate disbeliever in "Ossian"). Although he could refer to himself as a "second Macpherson",⁴ the description is not really appropriate. - If Scott questioned his qualifications to write about the Highlands, he had no doubt at all that he was disqualified to write about Wales;⁵ we must therefore conclude that The Betrothed was against his own rules.

In the same realistic spirit, Scott liked where possible to know all about the localities figuring in his fictions - geographical

1. Letters, XII, 383.

2. Letters, II, 55-6.

3. Ibid.

4. Ivanhoe, Epistle; Legend, 118.

5. Letters, XI, 86.

features, flora and fauna, place-names, anecdotes of local history: all these could help in giving individuality and life to his descriptions.¹

We now come to the modification which every rigid principle must undergo in the stress of practical operations. In this case the realist's difficulty lies not only in acquiring a plentiful store of "minute circumstances" from the history of earlier periods, but also in using them appropriately and accurately. The difficulty obviously becomes greater as the author moves further away, chronologically and culturally, from his own environment. Scott could at least profess to give a vivid and exact account of Border life in the 16th Century,² or of the Highlands in the same period,³ but he was quite frank in stating that he ran into difficulties with the 12th Century. The Dedicatory Epistle to Ivanhoe enunciates the principle that the historical novelist must "introduce nothing inconsistent with the manners of the age,"⁴ and yet the 'Epistle' was really written as an apology for Scott's departure from the principle in this case. The topics of Robin Hood and Richard the Lion-Heart, Normans and Saxons, offered raw material too attractive to be resisted, but 12th Century annals were lamentably deficient in the minute

1. e.g. Letters, IV, 189; VI, 266.

2. Lay of the Last Minstrel, Introduction.

3. Letters, XII, 286.

4. Ivanhoe, I, 28.

circumstances of domestic life and character which Scott wanted to aid the working-up process. In such a dilemma, the minute circumstances must be "faked", i.e. borrowed from a nearly period, richer in the needed matter - in this case, the Froissart period.¹ Most readers would not notice the licence, and the historians who did would appreciate the reasons for it. Language is a typical difficulty; it is impossible to tell the story of Ivanhoe in the language of the 1190's and still sell copies; the taste of Scott's day will not tolerate language which "awakens modern associations";² he must therefore compromise by using an archaic style which is still well understood, and which, as we know, proves to be quasi-Elizabethan. Thus "he that would please the modern world, yet present the exact impression of a tale of the Middle Ages, will repeatedly find that he will be obliged, in despite of his utmost exertions, to sacrifice the last to the first object, and eternally expose himself to the just censure of the rigid antiquary ...";³ just as one cannot present King Lear either in modern dress or in woad and bear-skins.⁴

These difficulties, however, are less formidable than they seem; there is balm in Gilead. After all, the "passions" are common to all men in all classes and in all ages, "however influenced by the peculiar

1. Ivanhoe, I, 29-30.

2. Lives, I, 323; Waverley, I, 15; Ivanhoe, I, 24 ff; Fair Maid, I, 26; Letters, V, 426.

3. Lives, I, 332 ff.

4. See also Prose Works, Vol. XX, p.204.

state of society", and there is much justification for introducing matter which would be appropriate in any period.¹ - This is the familiar 18th Century view of the basic uniformity of human nature in all situations. As a concrete illustration, Scott mentions the case of Chatterton, who, when composing his spurious mediaeval poems, made too much use of obsolete words and too little of words common to mediaeval and modern English.² It would thus appear that generalised narrative, such as Scott has already rejected, need not always be dull, and may be a good antidote to the over-employment of antiquarian detail.

Obviously, our artist is not going to allow his creativity to be shackled by theories, and any statement of Scott's principles must do justice to their flexibility. Perhaps it would be fair to say, summing up, that he has a marked liking for "period" detail, authentic if possible; if not, he would accept period detail which may be a century or so "out", but is at least not modern; and finally, there is much "general" material, characteristic of all or most periods, which must be used, though with caution.

Scott was fully aware that this particular problem was of recent origin. He points out that up to the time of Walpole's Castle

1. Ivanhoe, I, 27; Waverley, I, 96.

2. Ivanhoe, I, 26.

of Otranto, the public had not been offended by the presentation of old stories in modern costume and language, whether on the stage or in novels.¹ Thus the growing sophistication of public taste presents a new challenge to the artist.

So far, our exposé of Scott's views has suggested that he respected historical authenticity, and was prepared to sacrifice it only in case of need. But a much more cavalier tone can frequently be found in his writings. "We know in general that salutation [i.e. kissing] continued for a long period to be permitted by fashion, as much as the more lately licensed freedoms of shaking hands and offering the arm; and with this general knowledge it is of little consequence to us at what particular year of God men of quality were restrained from kissing their cousins, or whether Richardson has made an anachronism in that important matter."² Scott is very light-hearted about liberties with chronology, illustrating Johnson's remark, "nothing is so obsequious to the imagination as time" (see the Shakespeare Preface). "What signify dates in a true story?" asked Scott in his Journal (p.230); and if they signify little in sober history, they signify even less in fiction. A character in Woodstock, a tale of the year 1651, quotes from Fielding's verse,³ and Scott

1. Lives, I, 332; Dryden, IV, 8.

2. Lives, I, 61.

3. Woodstock, II, 133.

flippantly suggests that Fielding must have adopted the lines in question from tradition.¹ (The case of Charles II, who in the same novel displays a proleptic and rather uncharacteristic acquaintance with Samson Agonistes, published in 1671,² might have been more difficult to shrug off, if Scott had noticed the slip). When he says "it is for local antiquaries to discover" whether Arthur Philipson, living in the later 15th Century, crossed from Kehl to Strassburg by the modern bridge,³ by an older one, or by ferry, Scott seems to speak as an old experienced novelist who is something weary of being checked for inaccuracy in such matters, and is humourously determined not to commit himself this time. But he never abandoned the belief that "heralds like poets are at liberty to commit anachronisms for the sake of effect."⁴

About matters of historical fact, apart from chronology, Scott claims equal freedom for the novelist. "Odzooks, must one swear to the truth of a song?" is quoted in the Prefatory Letter to Peveril.⁵ He explained to the historian Charles Mills that in writing The Talisman he was not writing history, and claimed the right to invent a female relation for Richard the Lion-Heart (Edith Plantagenet) if he needed her in his romantic fiction.⁶ "Were accuracy of any

1. See also Journal, 101.

2. Woodstock, II, 144.

3. Anne of Geierstein, II, 109.

4. Letters, XII, 475.

5. Peveril, I, 65.

6. Talisman, 5-6; Letters, IX, 272.

consequence in a fictitious narrative ..." says the poet.¹ Admitting that he had represented Sir Thomas Dalzell as being present at Bothwell Brig, and as wearing boots contrary to the testimony of Captain Creighton, Scott says "we may charitably suggest that he [the author] was writing a romance [i.e. Old Mortality] and not a history."² "It is of little consequence to foreign nations how many Earls of Northumberland fell in the contest of York and Lancaster, or whether Shakespeare is correct in the pedigree of Roger Mortimer."³ In a note on the battle of Langside, appended to The Abbot, Scott says that in spite of the superior information of a correspondent to the effect that Queen Mary saw the battle from Cathcart Castle, and not Crookston, Scott does not wish to disturb the tradition; the public, he thinks, will not relish a change.⁴ Incidentally, we learn that he had derived his own information from a play! There is little doubt that in some cases he allowed ascertained fact to give way to public taste, and that he shared that taste himself; remember how he refrained from wiping the Maiden's kiss from the lips of the Earl of Argyle.

It is worth noting that Scott was willing to allow this latitude to other writers besides himself; speaking of a novel about the Gowrie

1. Marmion, 54.

2. Review of Tales of my Landlord (Prose Works, XIX, 55).

3. Letters, XII, 451.

4. Abbot, II, 365-6.

Conspiracy, the work of a Mrs. Logan, he says, "I believe she made the facts (as she certainly had a right to do) give way to the hypothesis which she preferred."¹ We must suppose, therefore, that, when he informed Wordsworth of the fact that a historical personage put to death by that poet in his White Doe of Rylstone, had in fact escaped abroad, he was merely being generally informative. Wordsworth was no better pleased to be put right than lesser men; "a plague of your industrious antiquarianism," he said. This little incident shows once more that Scott was not as other poets, but a genuine antiquary as well.²

As a romancer, Scott normally relied upon his existing knowledge, and did not trouble much about special research - for him, as for the authors of a famous parody, "history is what you remember." Of Marmion, he stated frankly that the poem did not give any historical account of Flodden, and that he had done no original research on that topic.³ (The "real" history is given in the notes, with Pinkerton as authority). In the Introduction to Woodstock, Scott says he wrote the novel with a distant recollection of reading something, he knew not what, about events at Woodstock in 1649, and only afterwards did he come across some printed material on the subject. Similarly,

1. Letters, X, 397.

2. Letters, II, 54, 161.

3. Letters, II, 3.

we find him asking someone in the Register House for material about "Blue-gowns", or the King's Bedesmen,¹ doubtless with a view to writing the historical notes for The Antiquary; and yet it was 12 or 13 years since he had written that novel itself - featuring Edie Ochiltree, the Blue-gown - without apparently feeling any need for such special inquiries. - Yet he could on occasion do some reading for bits of local colour while engaged on a romance, as in the case of Kenilworth and The Pirate.²

While conscious that the "rigid antiquary" would be shocked by his freedoms with history, Scott always maintained that novels were works of mere amusement, to which historical criteria had no direct and strict application. He knew that Prynne, in the 17th Century, had attacked the authors of historical plays for their liberties with history,³ and in this controversy he sided with the dramatist against the critic. The romancer's only indispensable rule is to be interesting; the rest can be left to fate: tout genre se permet hors le genre ennuyant.⁴ "Scenes in which our ancestors thought deeply, acted fiercely, and died desperately, are to us tales to divert the tedium of a winter's evening",⁵ and so are not sacred from the embroiderer's art.

1. Letters, X, 511.

2. Letters, VI, 265, 449.

3. Essay on Drama, 277.

4. Journal, 100; Letters, III, 191; Letters, V, 61.

5. Canongate, 143.

It is true that Scott also said that if a novel be faithful to history, the author "takes his seat on the bench of the historians of his country;"¹ but this high claim is made only once, when he was under pressure from Presbyterian criticism of Old Mortality; it seems quite certain that in the ordinary way he was satisfied when his novels succeeded as novels. There are two classes of readers, he says; those who are stimulated by historical novels to try the real thing, and those who are too idle to read serious history, but who none the less do learn something about history from these fictions. Thus there is no-one who cannot benefit from historical novels. As to their capacity for doing harm, Scott doubts if the charms of fiction could ever be really responsible for diverting attention from serious history; and in any case "the difference is but nominal betwixt those who read novels because they dislike history - and those who dislike history because they read novels."² The value of historical novels as a stimulant to serious study is asserted in a number of places in Scott's writings,³ and we are therefore to suppose that he believed in it strongly. Of their value to others, Scott's favourite illustration was the Duke of Marlborough, who was reported as saying that he had never read any

1. Review, Tales of My Landlord, 61 (Prose Works, XIX).

2. Review of Galt's Omen, 334 (Prose Works, XVIII).

3. Black Dwarf, 385; Nigel, I, 21; Peveril, I, 66.

history outside Shakespeare's plays¹ - at least for the 15th Century.

N.P.
 || And yet, after all, Scott does admit certain restrictions on the freedom of the historical novelist. "You may defeat the Romans in spite of Tacitus", says Jonathan Oldbuck, à propos of the "Caledoniad," a projected epic poem;² but Scott would never go as far as this. His principle may be summed up in the word "plausibility"; even in the field of manners, so much more important in his eyes than that of the facts of political history,³ the author need not adhere to ascertained fact, but may introduce whatever is "plausible and natural, and contains no obvious anachronism - for example, Bois-Guilbert in Ivanhoe may be waited upon by negro slaves, even if it should prove impossible to show that negro slavery existed in 12th Century England,⁴ since his opponents in Palestine undoubtedly had them. Here and there we find other examples of Scott's principle discussed. He condemns Dryden for putting classical quotation in the mouths of Moorish characters, and for representing Mohammedans as addicted to human sacrifice;⁵ but he thinks Dryden was justified in his speculation about the fate of King Sebastian of Portugal, since there really was something of a mystery about his death. Criticising Southey's Madoc, Scott remarked on the similarity of the story to that

1. Review "Life of Kemble" 158 (Prose Works XX); Peveril, I, 67.
2. Antiquary, I, 214.
3. Letters, XI, 86.
4. Ivanhoe, I, 382.
5. Dryden, VII, 280.

of Columbus,¹ and said, "Could anyone bear the story of a second city being taken by a wooden horse." (In the same spirit, Sir Launcelot Greaves is condemned² as a repetition of Don Quixote in the incongruous setting of 18th Century England). Scott demurred to Logan's tragedy of Runnamede, which, it seems, represented the Saxons as still existing in 1215 as a "high-minded and martial race of nobles."³ (In comparison with this, Scott's own picture of Cedric and Athelstan as leader of the last faint shadow of a Saxon party in England, is guilty of nothing more than sailing a trifle near the wind). He was unwilling to marry Ivanhoe to Rebecca, partly because "the prejudices of the age rendered such an union [between Jew and Christian] almost impossible."⁴ As we have seen, Froissart may be used to help out a picture of the twelfth century, but Scott forbids the introduction of a tea-table scene into the history of John of Gaunt,⁵ and pours much scorn on William Godwin for causing the same old hero to make a speech in a turgid 18th Century style to Geoffrey Chaucer.⁶ There are passages in Dryden's Aeneid, says Scott, "which in the revolution of a few pages, transport our ideas from the time of Troy's siege to that of the court of Augustus, and thence downward to

1. Letters, I, 288, 325.

2. Lives, I, 150.

3. Ivanhoe, I, 5.

4. Ivanhoe, I, 15.

5. Ellis' Romances, 52.

6. Review, Godwin's Chaucer, 73 (Prose Wks., XVII).

the reign of William the Third of Britain."¹ As we have already seen, the manners of Europe will not do duty in pioneering America; the life of the landsman will not furnish forth a sea story, and King Alfred is too remote for any treatment to be credible.

Welsh history seems to provide a border-line case; for although Scott declined on one occasion to undertake a Welsh story,² he had already tried one in The Betrothed, and obviously with qualms. Dr. Dryasdust, who seems to personify the historian's corner of Scott's conscience, complains in the original introduction to that novel that the Welsh will not approve of the manners expressed, and that the author should have done more reading in Welsh history.³ In his Introduction to Anne of Geierstein, Scott apologises for taking more liberties with history than usual;⁴ this admission seems obviously to have been prompted by criticism from Switzerland (see the same Introduction), since British readers will scarcely find Anne more inaccurate than other novels. We must assume that plausibility for Scott means plausibility for that elusive person, the average reader; historians are not average readers, nor are Swiss critics of Scott's Swiss stories, nor yet Welsh critics of his Welsh stories. Doubtless Scottish critics of Scottish stories would qualify as average readers for Scott.

1. Dryden Life, 438.

2. Letters, XI, 84.

3. Betrothed, 23.

4. Anne of Geierstein, I, 1.

5.

We need not expect involved casuistical discussion from a confessedly unphilosophical writer, but Scott does give clear indications that plausibility is a relative thing. Having changed the religion of the Countess of Derby in Peveril, he remarks that the truth of this matter, however important it may once have been, does not matter now.¹ Samuel Richardson's ignorance of high life distressed Lady Mary Wortley Montague; but so evanescent are the details of fashionable good breeding that Richardson's errors worry no-one in Scott's generation² - except no doubt the antiquary. Mrs. Radcliffe, it seems, was wrong in many details about the Inquisition, but Scott dismisses this censure on the ground that the code of the Inquisition "is happily but little known to us."³ All this seems to imply a practical distinction between knowledge derived from books and knowledge based on direct personal experience. Contradict this latter in the slightest, and the reader is up in arms; whereas the former must be quite seriously violated before the average reader is roused to protest; if he notices small errors, he is not hurt by them. Therefore, a poem about Nelson by a landsman will not do, because the slightest inaccuracy will rouse a "hundred critics in blue and white;"⁴ knights and moss-troopers, on the other hand, are all

1. Letters, XI, 385.

2. Lives, I, 60-61.

3. Lives, I, 354.

4. Letters, XII, 383.

dead, and you are safe, provided gross inconsistencies are avoided. One way of doing this is to "avoid in prudence all well-known paths of history";¹ we have already noticed that this practice has the additional advantage of allowing free play to the artist's imagination.

There is at least one instance to the fore where Scott rejected a detail as unplausible, even although it was consistent with historical fact. An artist illustrating The Lay of the Last Minstrel was instructed not to show the Laird of Buccleuch holding a golf-club; "the game is doubtless ancient but it is also modern and by certain associations rather vulgar in a Scotchman's eye."² (Few people, even today, would forbear a smile on being informed that Queen Mary Stewart was a keen golfer). In certain other cases, where he suspected that his readers might be captious, Scott gave his authority. The cruelties of the Norman barons in Ivanhoe, which might be rejected by a generation brought up to revere the heroes of Magna Carta, are substantiated³ from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's well-known account of the Nineteen Long Winters. This case is interesting, because Scott is justifying himself to ordinary readers, not to students of history, who would need no reassuring on this particular point. Similarly, the proposed marriage between Saladin and Edith Plantagenet in

1. Fair Maid, I, 24 ff; Letters, III, 234; Journal, 573.

2. Letters, XII, 380.

3. Ivanhoe, I, 377.

The Talisman is defended in a footnote¹ from the charge of improbability, by a reference to Mills' History of the Crusades for the case of Saladin's brother and the widowed Queen of Naples. (When Scott jocosely added that Mills did not seem even to have met Edith Plantagenet, in history, that historian wrote an offended letter, and had to be smoothed down by an explanation in words of one syllable.)

Another limitation upon the novelist's freedom in handling the facts of history remains to be mentioned. Scott acknowledged the claims of individual and party sensibility. He spent a good deal of time apologising to people, Highlanders in particular,² for things he had said about their ancestors; and in the case of the Swiss reader who wrote to him about Anne of Geierstein, he thought it "probably of less consequence" that he had traduced the political character of an Emperor, than that he had impugned the gentry of his correspondent's forbears.³ Scott seems to have been struck by the indignation aroused by Old Mortality amongst those to whom he referred in private as "the godly"; not only did he represent the extreme Covenanters more favourably afterwards, in the characters of David Deans and Mr. Bide-the-Bent,⁴ but he allowed himself to be so much inhibited in

1. Talisman, 276.

2. See, e.g., Letters, XI, 289.

3. Anne, I, 2.

4. A minor but important character in Bride of Lammermoor.

painting the Puritan Bridgenorth that he felt obliged to apologise¹ for the colourlessness of the character in the Prefatory Letter to Peveril, specifically alleging as the cause, his respect for religious feelings.

Like many other men who deliver their views chiefly in the form of scattered obiter dicta, Scott is not always self-consistent. At times he seems to set a high value on historical authenticity for its own sake; but more often he seems to be principally anxious that the general reader shall not be shocked. For this purpose, much untruth may be tolerated, whereas some truth must be excluded, or at least specially bolstered up. The foregoing exposition of Scott may seem to show him starting off with something like the historian's ideals, but later modifying them more and more under pressure from the practical needs of novel-writing and novel-selling. This exposition, however, is merely an attempt to fit Scott's numerous remarks into some sort of logical sequence; it cannot pretend to be an analysis of the development of his ideas. That is a history which will never be written, for the materials are lost. As in the case of many other late starters, his opinions and attitudes had ripened before he became an author, and changed very little during thirty years' activity. Scott was always very much the historian, and, simultaneously, very, very much the creative artist.

1. Peveril, I, 68.

The historical novelist, then, starts with a mass of well-digested material, both general and detailed, drawn from the history of many countries and periods; upon which elements his creative imagination is free to work, subject only to the not very formidable restrictions of plausibility and respect for feelings. Historical authenticity is desirable, but is in practice liable to modification by such factors as the state of the author's knowledge, the nature of his materials, and the character of his readers. "Be interesting, plausible, and considerate," might be Scott's motto.

B. Scott's practice in historical fiction.

(1) Introduction. Scott's practice as a romancer tallies so closely with the precepts summarised in the previous section, as to arouse suspicion that the latter were framed not so much as a guide to action as a justification thereof - a common enough thing. If it be correct that his attitude to authenticity varies somewhat, this merely reflects the fact that your historical novelist, although sure to be unauthentic sometimes, is equally sure to be authentic at other times, since no man will go out of his way to alter everything on principle.

In reviewing Scott's practice, it has been borne in mind that this study is addressed to readers who know a good deal about Scott; it seems unnecessary, therefore, to point out in detail how nearly

all the novels employ a historical background, whereas the foreground is usually occupied either by fictitious characters, or by fictitious incidents involving historical characters. The extreme case of Rokeby is however worth mentioning; this poem has no historical characters and no historical incidents, but the Civil War background was required, says Scott, to lend probability to "extraordinary adventures of a domestic nature."¹ This is avoiding the well-known paths of history² with a vengeance.

Nor is it necessary to explain what Scott himself has explained about the sources from which he drew, not only his plots, but also those details which he valued so highly for their life-giving properties. Scott's introductions and notes are very frank about these matters; no man ever had less value for trade secrets than Sir Walter Scott.

However, Scott did not explain everything. When Richie Moniplies, in Nigel, recalls in conversation how King James VI once fled down the back stairs at Holyrood Palace, after being roused from slumber by the irruption of the Earl of Bothwell, in such a hurry that he had not even time to put on his breeches, Scott supplies no footnote; but if the reader happens to go through the Minstrelsy

1. Letters, III, 216.

2. Fair Maid, I, 25.

shortly after, he will recognise the incident in a passage from Birrell's Diary, quoted by Scott in his notes to that great ballad collection, many years before writing the novel. Cases like this, once noticed, are worth setting down; they do not revolutionise our ideas about Scott, but they deepen our impression that the Waverley novels are an epitome, not merely of one man's personal experience, but of the records of several nations over many centuries.

Even when Scott's writings have been completely combed in this way, we may suspect that there is still a great deal to be learned about the origin of Scott's material. Students have been producing books and articles on Scott for a century and a half, and there must be much miscellaneous information to be gleaned from this ocean of writing, as listed in Dr. J. C. Corson's Bibliography of Sir Walter Scott. But this procedure, while it would result in an interesting compilation, would exclude the possibility of new discoveries. For the present purpose, therefore, a quantity of Scott's source material in history has been studied. Ideally, all the history he read should have been read after him; in practice, it was possible only to sample this mass, but of course the books selected were those which seemed most promising, i.e. (1) the historical texts edited by Scott, and (2) books on Scottish history dealing with the period roughly from 1660 to 1745, together with some books on British history in the same

period. In addition, the most important historical works written in Scotland between about 1750 and 1832 were read, though chiefly for the purpose of the review in Part I. The result of this study [not wholly anticipated, it is hoped, by previous students) is presented below in section 2, and will, perhaps, form an interesting supplement to Scott's own revelations, besides illustrating the practical operation of his views on historical fiction. In particular, readers will note the freedom with which details from history are transferred by Scott to other contexts, sometimes ludicrously far removed from the original, yet without sacrifice of probability. A connection will appear between "period" authenticity and literature. This study may, further, help to show that English history is a not unimportant source for the Scotch novels; and, finally, that whatever period of history Scott may select for his background, the feelings, opinions, and experiences of a Scotch lawyer in the early 19th Century are well to the fore.

In the matter of Scott's alterations to established historical fact, few would wish to compile lists of these, and fewer still to read them. One or two, however, have a special interest, and are worth a paragraph in section 3.

Finally, section 4 attempts a study of Scott's attitudes, or prejudices, as displayed in the novels, to see whether the freedom

of the fiction-writer has made any difference to the pattern displayed in his formal historical work. It will be shown that, in certain respects at least, the novelist's liberty seems to have enabled him to adopt more just and more comprehensive views than are to be found in most of the historical work of the time, including his own.

(2) The historical sources of the Waverley novels: "strict" and "free" writing.

Where Scott was unable to avoid "the well-known paths of history" "in his novels, he always followed contemporary accounts, whatever he may have done in Marmion. In Waverley (1814), a certain amount of matter is transferred straight into the story from the historians of the '45 - that is, from the actual historical context of real life into the identical historical context in fiction. This matter, drawn chiefly from writers like John Home, relates mainly to the military operations, and in particular, of course, to Prestonpans and Clifton. Such a proceeding is only to be expected; and the omission of the detail of such borrowings from our review of this and other novels offers one permissible method of shortening what threatens to be a long account. The interesting point is that this policy of direct incorporation accounts for so small a proportion of the complete work.

Another class of material whose detail must be omitted is that general information about the state of Scotland, and especially of the Highlands, in 1745, which provides part of the background of the novel.

When Scott describes the patriarchal system, black-mail, cattle-stealing, and so on, he is using information which he probably had from various sources - the traditional stories of his senior contemporaries, like Abercromby of Tullibody; MS. accounts, like those of Graham of Gartmore; and printed books, like Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland. Sometimes even a small detail may be common knowledge; John Home may tell us that Charles Edward had fair hair, but it might be rash to name him as the source for Scott's knowledge of the circumstance, as the existence of a song like "The Yellow-haired Laddie" warns us that this little piece of knowledge was general.

The interesting things, the things which demonstrate Scott's special technique as well as his special historical knowledge, are those features of Waverley and the rest which are fairly certainly derived from one source only, and which are transferred from a historical context into a fictitious one.

For Waverley, the historians of the '45 do not seem to provide much in this way. The dejection of Fergus McIvor after the decision at Derby,¹ contrasted with his enthusiasm during the advance into England, is of course transferred from the Prince himself, and the exclamation "God save King James"² from Balmerino. A less obvious case

1. Waverley, II, 273; Home's Rebellion, 147.

2. Waverley, II, 392.

is that of the blacksmith, John Mucklewrath, who fell foul of Waverley while repairing weapons for resistance to the Jacobites at the beginning of the rising. Home, Elcho, and Johnstone all mention a Jacobite blacksmith who organised attacks on the royal army during the retreat to the north; and, therefore, though Scott's blacksmith has changed sides and operated at the other end of the rising, there seems no reason to doubt that the suggestion came from the histories. - The case of Balmawhapple, who drew fire from Stirling castle, has already been discussed in connection with Robert Chambers.

But there are many links between Waverley and the history of the Jacobite movement and the Highlands before 1745. During the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh, Fergus McIvor hints at intrigues and jealousies at the Holyrood "court;" he congratulates Waverley on declining to compete with others for the post of aide-de-camp to the Prince,¹ and on another occasion complains that court intrigue has prevented him from assuming the rank of earl, to which he is entitled. Now, this is not the sort of bickering reported by the historians of the '45, who speak only of the jealousy which hampered Lord George Murray, and the unpopularity of the Irish officers. On the other hand, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, speaks, in his Memoirs,² of a St. Germain's intrigue of 1702, whereby a McLean was balked of an appointment as

1. Waverley, II, 104.

2. Ed. 1797, p.122.

gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to the "king"; and Lovat himself demanded a Duke's patent in 1742.¹ These episodes, indeed, seem more appropriate to a court in peace-time than to the H.Q. of a very mobile expedition. Lovat, however, renewed his demand in 1745 before he would "come out"; this brings reality very near to the fiction.² It may here be remarked that although Scott mentions Lovat in the notes to Waverley as the original of some external features in Fergus McIvor, there is no resemblance between the two characters apart from family pride. Readers of Lovat's Memoirs may well wonder whether they are genuine; they recall Thackeray's Barry Lyndon, the apologia of an odious personage whose true character unconsciously gives the lie to the apology on every page.

The mutiny in Waverley's regiment, instigated by Donald Bean Lean,³ does not seem to have any foundation in the record of the '45, and seems to be borrowed from the first Jacobite rising of 1689, when disaffection in the government forces was real, as well as more likely than in 1745. Both General Mackay's Memoirs⁴ and Captain Creighton's Memoirs⁵ speak of unsuccessful Jacobite intrigues in King William's army. - Mackay was William's commander at Killiecrankie;

1. Murray of Broughton, Memoirs, p.40 (S.H.S., 1898).
2. Grandfather, V, 93.
3. Waverley, II, 19.
4. Ed. Bannatyne Club (1833), p.28.
5. Swift, X, 179.

and Creighton, who acted as Jacobite agent in that period, was an officer who had seen much service in Scotland under the later Stewarts. His memoirs were afterwards "ghosted" by Swift, and therefore qualified for a place in Scott's edition of the Dean. Mackay's book, though not published till 1833, was known to Scott in MS. (See App. I).

Sir Walter Scott wrote no novel about the rising of 1715 - Rob Roy ends for practical purposes at the outbreak - but the accounts he had read of it exercised a considerable though hidden influence on the Waverley novels. The record says nothing, apparently, about westland Whigs, i.e. Cameronians, being out in armed parties in 1745 in defence of government, like Gifted Gilfillan, Scott's first Cameronian, in Waverley; but they were out in 1715, according to Peter Rae, in his history of that affair; one of their exploits is quoted by Scott from Rae in his Rob Roy Introduction.¹ 1745 was rather late for Cameronians to be out in armed parties.

Reference has already been made to that remarkable character, the Master of Sinclair, whose memoirs of 1715 were known to Scott in MS., and are quoted by him as early as the Minstrelsy. When Scott describes Balmawhapple's troop quartering for the night in Falkirk, without military precautions, and spending the evening over the bottle in careless security,² he is reproducing Sinclair's bitter complaints

1. Rob Roy, I, 36 ff.

2. Waverley, II, 90.

about the behaviour of the gentlemen under his own command during his expedition across Fife to seize some Government arms at Burntisland.¹ The account of 1715 in Tales of a Grandfather includes this episode from Sinclair, and does not forget the indiscipline of the Jacobites who crowded into the alehouses instead of posting sentries. - The '45 historians do not speak of a captured Hanoverian officer being permitted by the Jacobites to go to London on private business, like Colonel Talbot in Waverley, but Sinclair does.² - Fergus MacIvor, in the retreat from Derby, is made to speak of the illusions of the Highland Jacobites, who think the Government's vengeance will fall upon the Lowlanders, leaving themselves safe in their poverty and their mountain fastnesses; this very contrast is made by Sinclair³ with much bitterness at two points, though not in quite the same words, and without the picturesque Highland proverb quoted by Fergus.⁴ - Finally, the Baron of Bradwardine must surely owe a great deal to Sinclair. Both commanded the horse; both were given to lecturing on military tactics; both were punctilious martinets and duellists; both were somewhat Frenchified (Sinclair uses quite a number of French words); both indulged freely in Latin quotation. It is true that, just as MacIvor is a very different character from Lovat, so Bradwardine is not

1. Memoirs, p.95 ff (Abbotsford Club).

2. Memoirs, p.298 (298)

3. Ibid., pp. 26, 300.

4. Waverley, II, 275-6.

to be identified with Sinclair: Sinclair was too cynical, too bitterly censorious, and too half-hearted in the cause; yet the connection seems undeniable. Bradwardine's daughter was married from the house of a kinsman at a place called the Duchman; now this name is doubtless not unique in the Highlands, but it is at least curious that Sinclair should mention such a place, and that Scott should add to the MS.

a marginal note: "The Duchroun is in the Forest of Glenartney. It is well-known to sportsmen as famous for moor-game, me teste."¹

So much for the historians of the Jacobite movement. - It is difficult to decide the precise extent of Scott's indebtedness to Edward Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland. This book describes the experiences of an Englishman who spent some time in Inverness and its neighbourhood during the 1720's; it is full of matter about the Highlands which can be found in Scott, and Scott certainly refers quite frequently to the book by name; only one cannot be quite sure that his information came from no other source. Two cases of apparently certain connection do occur, however. On the way to Glennaquoich, Evan Dhu Maccombich enumerates, with much pride, the "tail" or personal entourage of a highland chief - the henchman, bard, bladier, gillymore, gilly-casfliuch, gilly-comstrian, gilly-trushharnish,

1. Sinclair, Memoirs, p.135.

2.

the piper, the piper's man, and a dozen boys of the belt. He is here following a passage in Burt with considerable fidelity - a passage reprinted in 1805 by Selkirk,¹ and quoted by Scott himself in "The Lady of the Lake" (1810).² - Documentary evidence on the patriarchal Highland system must be scarce indeed, when men like Selkirk and Scott are found giving prominence among their sources to the letters of a "foreign" visitor. Yet why should one be surprised? Much of the earlier history of India is derived from the reports of visiting Greeks, Chinese, and Arabs. - Calum Beg's attempt to shoot Waverley dead for a supposed insult to his chief³ must be derived from a more or less identical incident reported in Burt, and quoted by Scott in The Lady of the Lake.⁴ Burt refers to the zealous young clansman as "that little vermin", whereas Scott's Col. Talbot merely calls him "that little cockatrice" and "that little limb of the devil"⁵

Although we here find Scott looking at the Highlands through Saxon eyes, as is no doubt inevitable, he does employ some native tradition, much of which must have reached him by word of mouth. When Bradwardine reprobates the Highland chiefs for disdaining to hold their lands in a sheep's skin, i.e. by charter,⁶ he is quoting a remark ascribed to the well-known McDonald of Keppoch by Scott himself.⁷

1. Observations, ed. 1806, App., p.xii.

2. p.153; see Burt's Letters, (ed. 1818), II, 61.

3. Waverley, II, 261.

4. p.168; ~~also Burt, Ed. 1818, II, 60.~~

5. Waverley, II, 248, 308.

6. Waverley, I, 243. 7. Swift, X, 164; 'Culloden Papers Review' 55; Grandfather, III, 366.

One of the little circumstances with which Scott brightens up the historical account of the action at Prestonpans is the incident of the Highland seer, who, the day before the battle, restrained Calum Beg from shooting Col. Gardiner because he saw the winding-sheet already high on the Colonel's breast. It looks like a poetical device to heighten the effect of Gardiner's death in battle the following day, and so no doubt it is;¹ but the story is again told by Scott in connection with a traditional account of the clan battle of Glenfruin in 1603, which asserts that the McGregors were encouraged to victory by a seer who declared he saw the winding-sheet high on the breasts of the enemy leaders.² - The cateran Donald Bean Lean's objection to supreme unction as a waste of oil³ is specifically acknowledged as a borrowing from Rob Roy tradition in Scott's long and curious introduction to Rob Roy, 1829.⁴ - Although Donald is fairly obviously a preliminary Rob Roy with a difference, we have the word of Stewart of Garth⁵ that a Donald Bane Leane was active as a depredator after '45.

Going back into the 17th Century, we find one or two echoes from Covenanting times in Waverley, apart from the talk of Gifted Gilfillan, which raises a subject better dealt with in connection with Old

1. Waverley, II, 163.

2. Rob Roy, I, 8.

3. Waverley, II, 310.

4. Rob Roy, I, 60.

5. Sketches (ed. 1822) I, 43.

6.

Mortality and Heart of Midlothian. When Mr. Morton, hearing of Cope's march to Inverness, exclaims "Is the man a coward, a traitor or an idiot?" - he is echoing Wodrow, who stigmatises the leader of the extremist faction among the insurgents at Bothwell Brig as "traitor, coward, or fool";¹ Scott cites this passage from Wodrow in the Minstrelsy,² and, at the moment of reproducing it in the mouth of Mr. Morton, he is about to bring the Cameronian Gilfillan on the stage. - Evan Dhu, in one of Scott's greatest passages, offers, during his trial for high treason, to go back to the Highlands and fetch six of the McIvors to suffer vicariously for their chief, and rebukes those who doubt his word as persons who "ken neither the heart of a Highlandman nor the honour of a gentleman."³ Highland honour did in fact stand very high in those times; Stewart of Garth mentions the case of a soldier under close arrest who was allowed to go home on urgent business on giving his word of honour to return, which he duly kept.⁴ But the actual words put into Evan's mouth are strongly reminiscent of the reply made by the famous Covenanter, Baillie of Jerviswoode, to the offer of life on condition of turning king's evidence: "They who can make such a proposal to me know neither me nor my country."⁵ The story is in Grandfather (III, 267).

1. Wodrow, Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, II, 67 (1st ed.).

2. Op. cit., II, 231.

3. Waverley, II, 378.

4. Sketches, II, 414 (ed. 1822); (Quoted by Scott in notes to The Highland Widow - a later work).

5. John Dalrymple. Memoirs Pt. I. Bk. I, p.29.

Donald Bean Lean, according to Col. Talbot,¹ was hanged along with his followers, enjoying the distinction of a higher gallows than they. Like one or two other of the circumstances already discussed, this seems rather improbable for 1746, although the rash assertor of such a proposition is always liable to be confounded by the production of unexpected evidence. It seems highly likely, however, that Scott was thinking of Birrel's Diary, where there is an entry under 1604, quoted by Scott in the Rob Roy Introduction,² to the effect that this disagreeable distinction was conferred on McGregor of Glenstrae. Further, there is at least one other precedent: Hailes' Annals³ states that in the Wars of independence with England, the Earl of Athole, on being put to death with other prisoners, was graced with a higher gallows than the rest on account of his relationship to the English king. Thus it is quite possible that Waverley contains an echo from the Middle Age.

We know that the hunting-party⁴ which Waverley attended with McIvor just before the "Forty-five" broke out has no historical warrant, although Mar staged such an affair in 1715 to cover a Jacobite assembly. The detail of the Waverley hunting-party is, however, clearly derived from an older source. Thomas Pennant⁵ quotes an

1. Waverley, II, 311
2. Rob Roy, I, 13.
3. Op. cit., II, 14 (ed. 1776).
4. Wav., I, 334.
5. Burt's Letters, (ed. 1818), II, 67; also Pennant, Tour in Scotland 1772 (Ed. 1790), Pt. II, p.64.

account (by the jurist William Barclay), of a highland deer-hunt held for Queen Mary's entertainment in 1563, during which the herd changed the huntsmen, forcing them to fall flat on their faces and be overrun, like Waverley and his companions in the novel. Barclay's account says there were several killed and wounded; only Waverley became a casualty in the story. The most fastidious critic could hardly object to this 16th Century borrowing, since such an incident could occur in any period whatever, and is therefore ideally "general." - The Pennant just mentioned was the well-known Welsh antiquary, much kinder to Scotland than English visitors like Burt, whose talk is of dirt and vermin, and who display that irritating virtue which, in their descendants, inveighs against the Scotch habit of bathing only once a week.

Irish history contributes one little point to Waverley. - Sir Everard Waverley is said¹ to have limited his parliamentary orations in Godolphin's time to "zealous Noes." Swift, in a satire on the Irish Parliament of his day, says in verse: "Dick with zealous noes and eyes Could roar as loud as Stentor."²

Finally, there is a small contribution from mediaeval Iceland. Lucky Macleary, on hearing a brawl break out in her change-house or

1. Waverley, I, 129.

2. Swift, X, 511.

tavern, rushed into the room and flung her plaid with great dexterity over the swords of the combatants.¹ The same incident occurs in Scott's abstract - written in 1814, the year of Waverley - of the Eyrbyggja Saga, which is a compendium of old Icelandic history and tradition.

This undoubtedly fragmentary account of the historical sources of Waverley, beginning with the historians of the "Forty-five" and working backwards through Scottish history, with a glance or two at other histories to finish with, should give some idea of the richness of the Scott background. It is further to be borne in mind that Scott drew as liberally on an equally rich literary background, not to mention the background of personal experience which every artist must have, to produce a most extraordinary amalgam of the life, experience and feelings of Western man through many generations, set out in the long series of the Waverley novels.

The source of the "long-lost heir" story of Guy Mannering (1815) has been the subject of some discussion, but as this concerns, principally, lawsuits in the private life of the 18th and early 19th Century, it seems out of place here. The novel seems to owe practically nothing to general history, and is one of the very

1. Waverley, I, 195.

few of which this can be said. As the action of the story is supposed to take place between about 1760 and 1780, it may seem natural that the novelist should draw little on the older history; and yet the next novel, The Antiquary (1816), whose period is the end of the 18th Century, is as full of history as any professedly historical novel. Nor is this fact wholly explained by the antiquarian hobby of the chief character.

We have already asserted above that the historians of the 1715 rebellion have had a marked, if indirect, influence on the Waverley novels. The hand of the Master of Sinclair can be seen in the account of Sir Anthony Wardour's behaviour in the '45 rising.¹ The Wardours were wine-glass Jacobites, who tamely allowed themselves, and their horses, to be seized at the beginning of the rebellion by the "Whig-burghers" of Perth, who sallied forth for the purpose under their Provost, Oldbuck's father. According to Sinclair,² "the good Tories [in 1715] satisfied themselves with drinking loyal healths," and "recruiting with wine, and fighting with bottles and glasses"; whereas "the Whigs armed themselves expeditiously throughout the whole country;" "justices had orders from Court to seize the horses and arms of all disaffected persons", and "the Whig magistrates and burghers of Perth had already made themselves masters of that town." Of all the Jacobite

1. Antiquary, I, 79.

2. Memoirs, p.9, 13, 16, 90 (Abbotsford Club).

historians whom the Scott student may read, Sinclair is the one who most vividly recalls the Waverley novels.

Several cases occur in this novel of the transference of historical material from one context to another. Sir Arthur Wardour's family history¹ reported the marriage, in 1150, between the reluctant "Saxon" heiress of Knockwinnock (a lowland barony) and a Norman, Sir Richard Wardour. It asserted further that she had an illegitimate son by some cousin, who grew up with the name of Malcolm Misticot, and in due course expelled his legitimate younger half-brother from the family property, with Highland assistance, causing much disturbance until he was defeated and obliged to turn monk. The point of this story for the plot of The Antiquary is that the Wardour family derived from the Misticot affair a hereditary horror of bastardy, which hindered the supposedly illegitimate Lovel's courtship of Miss Wardour. Scott probably placed the story in the 12th Century because the pretension of an illegitimate son to be regarded as the lawful heir would be quite inappropriate to a later period of feudal society; but the story can scarcely be derived from any source in the 12th Century, which is virtually pre-historic so far as the details of Scottish family history are concerned. The source must be sought in a context where central government is weak, and where

1. Antiquary, II, 29, 42.

illegitimate sons can claim property succession rights with some show of justification; in fact, a story does occur in Scott's sources about the remote tribe of the Macleods, according to which¹ eight bastard sons excluded the legal heir from his property, and that as late as the end of the 16th Century. Some idea that the tale would be more easily believed of the Celtic clans than of the completely feudalised Lowlands may have lurked in Scott's mind when he represented Misticot's supporters as Highlanders. The suggestion of resistance to Norman infiltration, which actually occurred in the 12th Century, lends another touch of "authenticity" to the fiction. While thus subtly demonstrating how to achieve the illusion of authenticity where authentic material is scarce, Scott seems to spoil things by attributing a fully-developed science of heraldry to the 12th Century;² but this may be regarded not as a liberty but as a genuine error, since heraldic enthusiasts were slow to admit the comparatively recent origin of their system.

Oldbuck quotes³ a pseudo-mediaeval epitaph, beginning "Here lyeth John o' ye Girnell, Erth has ye nit and heuen ye k&ernell." It seems difficult not to connect this with some lines of the late 17th Century, preserved in the already mentioned Robert Mylne's MS.

1. Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, I, 65 (ed. S.H.S.)

2. Antiquary, II, 29.

3. Antiquary, I, 179.

collection:¹ "Her coffin is of ane old girnell, Earth keeps the shell, the deil the kernel."

Although the natural tendency of the historical novelist is to fill out obscure early periods with later material, examples of the converse occur in Scott, as we have already seen. In his Secret History of the Court of King James, and in the notes to The Fortunes of Nigel,² Scott quotes an account by John Lilly, the astrological quack, of a treasure-hunt in Westminster Abbey by Davy Ramsey, clockmaker to King James. The searcher and his friends "played the hazel rods round about the cloisters," and when "the rods turned one over another," the labourers were ordered to dig, and brought up a coffin. The searchers then went into the church, where a fierce wind began to blow, so that the party thought demons were about, and Ramsay's partner looked pale. - It is quite obvious that this story has been adapted for the scenes at St. Ruth's priory in the novel of The Antiquary; first for the quack Dousterswivel's search for water among the ruins, using a hazel twig, then for the midnight scene in which the "adept" and Sir Arthur Wardour are frightened from their treasure-hunt by the ghostly howling of Edie Ochiltree, and finally the discovery of Misticot's treasure in his grave. This case is interesting, not only because the story is brought forward

1. Jas. Maidment, A Book of Scottish Pasquils,* P.76.

2. Secret History, I, 265; Fortunes, I, 394.

from the early 17th Century to the end of the 18th, but because a story about Westminster Abbey is transferred to the ruins of Arbroath.

An early reminiscence seems to be involved in Scott's use of the name "Lord Geraldin" for the eldest son of a northern Scottish noble of the 18th Century, the Earl of Glenallan. Many readers must have wondered how the name of the great Anglo-Irish family of the Fitzgeralds or Geraldines has found its way into a Scottish environment; the answer may be that the Mackenzies of Kintail traced their ancestry to a 13th Century, Geraldine who was rewarded with lands in Kintail for service against the Norwegians at Largs, and who is referred to by Scott in the Minstrelsy,¹ and in some detached verses.²

Jonathan Oldbuck is responsible for a good many reminiscences of the Scottish antiquarian writers of the 17th & 18th Centuries. It was pointed out long ago by Sir David Wilson,³ and repeated by Andrew Lang in the Border Edition, that much of Oldbuck's talk about Roman remains is quotation from Alexander Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale, the book Oldbuck was taking home when he went for the coach in Ch. I. For example, when Lovel remarks⁴ that the letters "C.C.P.F." on a Roman stone were explained by the Dutch antiquaries as Caius Caligula Pharum Fecit, he is quoting Gordon. Oldbuck's error of interpreting "A.D.L.L."

1. Minstrelsy, IV, 352.

2. Poetical Works, VIII, 390-4.

3. Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh (1878), II, 176.

4. Antiquary, I, 62.

on a supposedly Roman stone as Agricola Dicavit Libens Lubens, until assured by Edie Ochiltree that the correct explanation was "Aiken Drum's Lang Ladle," is an example of Scott's willingness to treat antiquarian controversy as a joke, rather than to engender acrimony in the manner of Ritson, Pinkerton, and Chalmers. (In these modern days, when Scots songs are no longer common property, it may not be amiss to remark that Scott was referring to the song whose chorus runs "And he played upon a ladle, and his name was Aiken Drum").

In a dialogue between Oldbuck and Hector McIntyre,¹ the genuine Ossianic ballads, of the Scottish Highlands are parodied in a manner which shows that Scott had followed the controversy, knew the genuine ballads in translation, and wished to show the difference between them and the romantic dreams of James Macpherson - not by means of a slashing Dissertation à la Malcolm Laing, but by humorous exaggeration. Once more, antiquarian controversy becomes a source of innocent merriment. The squabble between St. Patrick and Ossian, in Hector McIntyre's recitation, about the relative merits of the Psalms of David and the tales of the Fenian warriors, really does have a basis in the original ballads: "Greater the worth of one stout troop that Fionn of the Fian used to bring, than thyself and thy Lord of piety altogether."² If Ossian, in the original, does not tell St. Patrick

1. Ibid., II, 126.

2. Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, 1939), p.129.

that he is little better than an ass, and threaten to wring his bald head from his shoulders (see Hector McIntyre's improvised "translation") there is at least a prototype in another dialogue, this time between two warriors, one of whom says "'Tis the speech of a fool that is in thy mouth ... were it not in Fionn's presence that I find thee, thy head should lack a body."¹ - Oldbuck's contemptuous remarks about the bare-breeched Celts as compared with their valiant Gothic conquerors, are of course pure Pinkerton.

The controversies between Oldbuck and Wardour are full of genuine echoes of real-life antiquarian discussion. Wardour thought it lese-majesty to doubt the existence of any of the hundred and odd Scots Kings whose "portraits" hung upon the walls of Holyrood;² Sir George ("Bloody") Mackenzie, in controversy with Bishop William Lloyd of St. Asaph, said it would be his duty, as Lord Advocate of Scotland, to prosecute for lese-majesty any person who should express such views on Scottish soil.³

When the guests were assembling at Monkbarns for the dinner-party which ended in the famous quarrel about the Picts between Oldbuck and Wardour, Oldbuck remarked⁴ that whereas Mahommed had rejected bells and trumpets in favour of the voice as the established

1. Ibid., p.99.

2. Antiquary, I, 81.

3. Sir George Mackenzie, A Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland.

4. Antiquary, I, 92.

mode of calling the faithful to prayer, he, Oldbuck, had rejected the voice and the gong in favour of the bell as the best mode of calling the family to dinner. When Scott was writing this, his mind must have been already engaged on the after-dinner quarrel, during which Wardour speaks about the Pictish towers at Brechin and Abernethy;¹ for we read in Robert Henry's History: "Other writers are of opinion that the design of these circular towers (of which one is still remaining at Abernethy and another at Brechin) was, to be places from whence the people were called to public worship by the sound of a horn or trumpet, before the introduction of bells."²

Oldbuck's vociferation during the quarrel-scene³ of "Pikar, Pihar, Piochtar, Piaghter, or P~~en~~ghtar" is again pure Pinkerton. Although the "beadroll of unbaptised jargon", i.e. the names of the Pictish Kings, may recall David Hume's "beadroll of barbarous [Anglo-Saxon] names,"⁴ the names which set^s Sir Arthur Wardour coughing, have all some sort of justification in the sources - even Eachan Macfungus, who seems to be a variant of Pinkerton's "Hungus, son of Fergus."⁵ "The fumes of conceit, folly, and falsehood, fermenting in the brains of some mad Highland seannachie," is probably a direct reminiscence of Pinkerton's "fruits

1. Antiquary, I, 100.

2. History of Great Britain (ed. 1823), IV, 125.

3. Antiquary, I, 98-103.

4. Hume's History (ed. 1812), I, 47.

5. Pinkerton, Enquiry, I, 294.

of folly and falsehood" etc.¹

When the Earl of Glenallan spends an evening at Monkbarns, Oldbuck subjects² him to a reading of his paper on the hill-fort of Quickensbog. The name, he says, cannot mean "couch-grass bog," as it seems to do; "quickens" stands for "whilkens" or "whacken", and "bog" is a corruption of "burgh." This vastly entertaining parody on linguistic speculation may have no certain prototype, but David Buchanan's 17th Century 'Description of Edinburgh',³ at least shows how well Scott knew the sort of thing he was laughing at. Buchanan rejects the derivation "Edwin's burgh," and proceeds to pour forth a most learned and diverting medley of Greek, French, Welsh, Saxon and Gaelic words, with a little Hebrew and Chaldean thrown in, from which cloud of cabalistic symbols emerges the conclusion that "Edinburgh" means "Winged Rock" - Scott had to restrict himself to Latin, Saxon, and Scots.

The Earl of Glenallan is represented as a man whose early life was promising, but whose dawn was quickly overcast by the disaster of his secret marriage, and the suicide of his wife, whereafter he became a stern and melancholy recluse. Reviewing Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, Scott says of that famous bibliophile, the 3rd Duke of Roxburghe:

1. Ibid., I, 237.

2. Antiquary, II, 203.

3. Macfarlane's Geographical Collections II, 636 (S.H.S. Vol. 52).

"Youthful misfortunes ... had cast an early shade of gloom over his prospects, and given to one so splendidly endowed with the means of enjoying society that degree of reserved melancholy which prefers retirement to the splendid scenes of gaiety."¹ The misfortune referred to was no doubt the breaking off of Roxburghe's proposed marriage, for reasons of state. The lawyers' "gleesome anticipations" of a "great Glenallan cause" (Antiquary, II, 87), which might follow the death of the recluse without heirs, may therefore be connected with the litigation about the Roxburghe title which followed the death of the book-collecting Earl's short-lived successor. The sale of Roxburghe's great library and the foundation of the Roxburghe Club had taken place quite recently (1812) when The Antiquary was written. From all this it seems reasonable to suppose that the character of Glenallan is one result of Scott's interest in history, historians and antiquaries, and that Glenallan House is *Fleurs*.

Old Mortality is written, as a musician might say, in unusually regular or strict form; that is, not only the historical framework but also the details of the novel, seem to be derived for the most part from contemporary Covenanting annals, except for one or two drawn from the English Puritans. The exceptionally individual - in fact, the unique - character of the 17th Century Puritans in Scotland

1. 'Pitcairn Review,' 213 (Pure Wks, XXI).

and England may explain why Old Mortality could not very well go far afield for detail; while, in any case, the abundance of contemporary historical material of the lively, biographical sort made it unnecessary to do so. Our illustrations of Scott's debt to his sources should therefore be given, in this case, simply in the order of their occurrence in the novel. But one method of sub-division offers itself. The Covenanting writers used a very characteristic scriptural style, Scott's imitation of which is quite as remarkable as his pillaging of the annals for incidents. In the following paragraphs, accordingly, incidents are given first, as they occur in the story, then turns of phrase. Scott's most "serious" and reliable authority is Robert Wodrow's colossal history of Presbyterian tribulations between 1660 and 1688 - a partisan but moderate, honest, and overwhelmingly documented work; but he draws quite as much and more upon Patrick Walker, the Cameronian pedlar, whose lives of Presbyterian champions came out as chap-books about 1720, and John Howie of Lochgoin, who was writing early in Scott's life-time. These writers, however factually unreliable, are a better index than Wodrow to the feelings and beliefs of the Scottish peasantry, and as such were valued and used by Scott. The Narrative of 1679 by the extremist Covenanter James Russell, published in Sharpe's Kirkton, is very important. There is a little, but not a great deal, from the royalist writers,

Creighton and Turner, whose military reminiscences were probably more interesting to Scott than their anti-Covenanting attitude.

At Niel Blane's Howff, early in the story, the Covananter Burley challenges the royalist soldier Bothwell to wrestle a fall with him; Patrick Walker¹ and Howie, narrating the life of John Semple, tell how that Presbyterian worthy offered to wrestle a fall with an armed man who had held him up at pistol-point.

An outstanding passage² of this novel describes the visitation of Milnwood House by a party of dragoons under their sergeant, Bothwell, in search of the murderers of Archbishop Sharp. Several incidents have authority.—Bothwell's demand that the inmates shall drink the King's health is supported by Wodrow, who reports several cases of Covenanters who were asked to do this, and refused³.

When the Covenanting zealot Manse Headrigg is asked to renounce the Covenant,⁴ her son, playing upon Bothwell's theological ignorance, induces him to accept the renunciation of the Covenant of Works, which, it appears, was the heresy of the Dutch theologian Cocceius. Scott himself, in his anonymous review of his own novel, gives Defoe's History of the Church of Scotland as his source for this anecdote, quoting the passage in full.⁵ Defoe is not a good source for matters of

1. Biographia Presbyteriana (1827), I, 160.

2. Old Mortality, I, 138-157.

3. Old Mortality, I, 143. e.g. Wodrow, Sufferings, II, 265, 303

4. Old Mortality, I, 144.

5. Landlord Review, 42.

fact, but as a visitor to Scotland at the period of the Union, he can supply some sub-contemporary tradition. Defoe's soldier, however, is not so ignorant theologically as Bothwell, but accepts the Covenanter's quibble for reasons of humanity. In this case, therefore, Scott represented the royalist in darker colours than did his source. - The question of Scott's partialities is however reserved for sec. 4 below.

Old Milnwood is obliged by Bothwell to speak in condemnation¹ of the murderers of Sharp. Here again there is warranty in Wodrow, although for the years following Bothwell Brig rather than the short period between the murder and the rebellion. He cites, for example, orders sent to soldiers in the Bathgate area in 1684, in which the Privy Council directs them to examine every person, demand the Oath of Abjuration (of the Covenant), execute upon the place all who own the late Declaration (of the Society people, abjuring the King's authority), and so on.² In response to this and similar orders, Wodrow says the troops went about administering what became known as the "Soldier's Catechism", whereby the persons interrogated were expected to acknowledge the King as their lawful sovereign, to stigmatise the Bothwell Bridge affair as rebellion, and Sharp's death as murder.³ - Old Milnwood, asked for his views on Sharp's death,

1. Old Mortality, I, 145.

2. Wodrow, Sufferings, II, 435.

played safe by picking out and reading aloud the most indignant phrases of the Government proclamation which Bothwell had put in his hand - "bloody and execrable - murder and parricide - devised by hellish and implacable cruelty - utterly abominable, and a scandal to the land." Wodrow prints the proclamation,¹ which actually has the phrases "late horrid and bloody murder," "barbarous and inhuman assassination and parricide," "bloody and execrable attempts," "hellish and insatiable cruelty."

When the fact emerged that Henry Morton had given a night's lodging to one of Sharp's murderers, his uncle, old Milnwood, bribed Bothwell with gold. - Creighton, in his Memoirs, records how he was bribed with a horse by a gentleman whose wife had been detected attending a conventicle, and Scott repeats the story in Tales of a Grandfather.²

It will appear, then, that few fictitious episodes can be better grounded in the record than this one.

The wooden horse, formerly used as a kind of pillory for the punishment of disciplinary offences by soldiers, is mentioned by Sergeant Bothwell,³ and Scott says in a note that this apparatus stood outside the guardhouse in the High Street of Edinburgh. He proceeds

1. Ibid., Vol. II, Appendix XI.

2. Grandfather, III, 220.

3. Old Mortality, I, 164.

to quote a story about Queen Anne's son, the Duke of Gloucester, inflicting such a punishment on a tailor; but it is likely that Scott had in mind the Diary of John Nicoll, a "whilly-whaw body", as Summertrees said of Provost Crosbie, whose politics were those of the party in power. His journal contains an entry to the effect that an English soldier during Cromwell's usurpation, had been made to "ryde the meir, at the Croce of Edinburgh, with ane pynt stop about his neck, his handis bound behind his bak, and muskets hung at his feet, the full space of two hours, for being drunk."²

As the royal force approached Drumclog, Bothwell gave orders² to "couple up the parson and the old woman", i.e. Kettledrummle and Ma~~n~~se Headrigg, prisoners under his escort; later, as the dragoons approached nearer to the enemy, the soldiers forced³ the prisoners to keep their horses over drains and gullies, or to push them through swamps, laughing heartily at their distress. Wodrow⁴ reports that Claverhouse bound his prisoners two and two on the march to Drumclog; and in his account of the year 1683 he states that Bonshaw, a dragoon commander, tied some prisoners in pairs on horses which were galloped for some miles.⁵

1. Op. cit., Bannatyne Club, ed., p.33.

2. Old Mortality, I, 249.

3. Ibid., I, 267.

4. Wodrow, Suffering, II, 46.

5. Ibid., II, 291.

According to Cuddie Headrigg,¹ the Covenanting preacher Kettledrummle had such a powerful voice that "ye might have heard him a mile down the wind"; Captain Creichton contents himself with saying that John King's voice was audible at quarter-of-a-mile.²

The circumstance of the psalm-singing by the Covenanting army before battle³ is given by James Russell, as also is the existence of a "great gutter or stank" between the two forces.⁴

As for Bothwell's manoeuvre of attacking the rebels from the rear while the main body of the royalist force engaged them in front,⁵ there is nothing about this in the sources; but Russell, in his narrative, tells how the murderers of Sharp moved about the country on horse-back (so did Burley), put up at change-houses (Burley at Blane's Howff!) and private houses (Burley at Milnwood!) and joined a conventicle at Fintry Craigs, where the attacking troopers "went about the back side of the hill, and came up at a pass, not expecting it."⁶

During the fighting, Kettledrummle ensconces himself behind a cairn,⁷ somewhat to the detriment of his reputation. In like manner, according to Sir James Turner's Memoirs,⁸ two preachers, Welsh and Semple, present at Rullion Green in 1666, went up a hill, "and by doing

1. Old Mortality, I, 252.
2. Swift, X, 120.
3. Old Mortality, I, 272.
4. Kirkton (ed. Sharpe), Church Hist., 442.
5. Old Mortality, I, 282-289.
6. Kirkton, Church Hist., 428.
7. Old Mortality, I, 297.
8. Memoirs (Bann. Ed. 1829) p.185.

so I thought both of them had provided indifferently well for their own safety."

Mause Hendrigg's invitation to Claverhouse, fleeing after his defeat, to "bide the afternoon preaching"¹ is ascribed by James Russell to King, the preacher mentioned already, who had been captured by Claverhouse and taken along to Drumclog - exactly like Kettledrummy in the novel.²

Great offence was given by the character of Habbakuk Mucklewrath, the insane and fanatical Covenanting preacher;³ yet he had a prototype in Meikle John Gibb, a lunatic dissenter, disowned even by the Cameronians. Scott gives, in his Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, details about this religious maniac, derived from Wodrow, Walker, and Howie.⁴ None of these details are reproduced in Old Mortality; Gibb and Mucklewrath have only the general trait of lunacy in common. Gibb had apparently no connection with Bothwell Brig.

The siege of Tillietudlem by the Covenanters has the air of a fictitious addition, but Scott may have had two hints for it. Sharpe quotes a statement⁵ that Earlston, a well-known Covenanter, on his way to join the rebels at Bothwell Brig, passed by Thrieve Castle, where

1. Old Mortality, I, 302.
2. Kirkton, Church Hist., 439.
3. Old Mortality, II, 21 etc.
4. Op. cit., p.81.
5. Kirkton, op. cit., 471-2.

Charles II had had a garrison in 1650, and recalled that he, Earlston, had taken the place and put the garrison to the sword. Further, Wodrow reports¹ that some Covenanters took Hawick Castle before going on to Bothwell Brig.

The Tillietudlem garrison were summoned to surrender by the Laird of Langcale, who walked with a conceited air which moved Lord Evandale to a smile, and spoke in a "shrill" "sharp" disrespectful voice, "without any of the usual salutations or deferences."² This comes straightout of David Hume's History, if not from Hume's source, Clarendon; Langcale's prototype is a couple of citizens of Gloucester, who, during the siege of 1643, appeared before the King with "sharp and uncouth" faces, and, "without any circumstance of duty and good manners", spoke in a "pert, shrill, undismayed accent."³

Henry Morton's attack on Glasgow⁴ seems to follow Creichton, who speaks of a Covenanting attack in two columns, repulsed by the government forces from behind two barricades.⁵ (But Creichton's account of Bothwell Brig differs materially from Scott's).

Morton left Hamilton to visit Milnwood and Tillietudlem, "for he saw no reason why he should not assume a licence which was taken by everybody else in this disorderly army".⁶ Wodrow mentions that "people

1. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 267.
2. Old Mortality, II, 60-61.
3. Hume, History (ed. 1812), VI, 525.
4. Old Mortality, II, 83.
5. Swift, X, 129 ff.
6. Old Mortality, II, 91.

came and went off from the camp just as they pleased."¹

The embassy to Monmouth at Bothwell Brig, and his promise of intercession for the rebels if they laid down their arms within half-an-hour, is given by Wodrow.² James Russell accused the ambassadors of "going over to tamper with the enemy;"³ hence, no doubt, Mucklewrath's charge against Henry Morton that "he had made himself brethren in the camp of the enemy."⁴

Scott represents the day of the battle at Bothwell Brig as having been appointed a day of humiliation; according to both Wodrow and Russell, such a fast was appointed, although it does not appear to have taken place.⁵

The seizure of the pulpit by the extremist Mucklewrath⁶ from the "Indulged" Poudtext is grounded upon the narrative of Russell, who states that "Mr Hume [a moderate] thrust Mr. Douglas [extremist] from the place where he was going to preach, and preached himself, crying up the King's lawful authority."⁷ This suggests, and the suggestion is supported by Wodrow, that the moderates were more active in controversy than the extremists; whereas and behold, it is the extremists who make all the running among the rebels in Scott's narrative.

1. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 55.

2. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 66.

3. Kirkton, op. cit., p.467.

4. Old Mortality, II, 161.

5. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 56; Kirkton, op. cit., 460; Old Mortality, II, 159.

6. Ibid., II, 159.

7. Kirkton, op. cit., 460.

Just before the battle, when confusion has broken out among the Covenanters in consequence of Mucklewrath's frenzied oration, Scott says that some of the rebels began "moderating a harmonious call, as they somewhat improperly termed it, to new officers."¹ Wodrow gives, as a proposal by the moderates, "that all places in the army be declared vacant, and officers now harmoniously chosen."² Once again, it was the moderates who took the lead in real life.

The defence of the Bridge³ by Morton and Burley rests upon Wodrow, who says that orders to abandon the bridge were given by Hamilton of the extreme party, and that each faction accused the other of treachery. Wodrow states that the differing accounts of the action are irreconcilable;⁴ this seems to be correct, for Creighton says the bridge was not defended at all, but abandoned after a royalist cannonade.⁵ Scott follows the Presbyterian authority.

The dramatic episode of Morton's falling into the hands of a group of fanatics after the battle⁶ is stated by Scott himself to have been derived from the experience of a supervisor of excise among smugglers. There is, however, an interesting hint in Russell,⁷ who quotes Hamilton, the extremist Covenanted leader, as follows: " ... a company, who, after

1. Old Mortality, II, 163.
2. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 64.
3. Old Mortality, II, 168 ff.
4. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 67.
5. Swift, X, 133.
6. Old Mortality, II, 177 ff.
7. Kirkton, op. cit., 452.

the break at Bothwell, sat down in the Old Clachan of Galloway, and plotted and determined to take away my life for my ... opposing and disowning of the Hamilton Declaration." Here again, Scott transfers an action attributed to the moderates in the record, to the fanatics in the novel.

The dossier produced by Claverhouse after he has rescued Morton from the fanatics¹ contains information about disaffected persons, supplied by the curates to the government. Wodrow relates that in 1683 parish clergy were ordered to compile complete rolls, with particular accounts of rebels, fugitives, etc.²

The tendency of Maude Headrigg to lead her son by the nose into rebellion, and then to expect him to testify for the Covenant before the Privy Council³ may be connected with a passage by Sharpe, in his Biographical Notice of Kirkton:⁴ "It is astonishing to consider how anxious the female zealots at that time were to make their husbands, nay their favourite preachers, obtain the martyr's crown through the medium of a halter." "Potter on the scaffold seemed to hesitate ... but his wife seizing his arm almost pushed him off the ladder and said, 'Go die for the good old cause my dear!'" This quotation is a typical specimen of C. K. Sharpe's writing; Scott's tone is of course entirely different.

1. Old Mortality, II, 204.
2. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 317.
3. Old Mortality, II, 213.
4. Kirkton, op. cit., ix-x.

Several features in Scott's account of the torture of Ephraim McBriar¹ before the Privy Council can be identified in Wodrow. At the interrogation of James Mitchell in 1678, accused of the attempted murder of Sharp, he declined to acknowledge a former confession, whereupon "the Preses said, Sir, you see what is laid upon the table (the Boots), I will see if that will make you do it."² Scott goes one better, as he often does, by causing a curtain to rise at the ringing of a bell, to reveal the hangman standing behind a table loaded with instruments of torture.

The phrase "Take the best" used by McBriar in offering his right leg to the torture, is acknowledged by Scott in a footnote to his text as a borrowing from Mitchell's trial.

Wodrow says: "At the ninth stroke Mr. Mitchell fainted through the extremity of pain, upon which the executioner cried Alas my Lords he is gone." Scott again goes one better; for the fifth stroke, a longer wedge is introduced into the boot, and the prisoner sets up "a scream of agony": whereupon a surgeon present announces "He has fainted, my Lords, and human nature can endure no more." - There is no mention of a surgeon in Wodrow's account of James Mitchell, but there is in the case of Arthur Tacket, tortured in 1684:³ "The chirurgion present desired he might

1. Old Mortality, II, 221-3.
2. Wodrow, op. cit., I, 512.
3. Ibid., II, 375.

desist a little, and taking the Advocate aside told him that Arthur was very young and his leg so small that a few strokes would crush it to pieces." - The reading of the sentence of death over McBriar by the Dempster, "And this I pronounce for Doom," occurs in Wodrow's account of Mitchell, the Dempster being named as Adam Auld. McBriar's farewell speech, declaring his conviction that death will be a happy exchange, is a short epitome of dozens of such speeches given in books like the Cloud of Witnesses.

Gilbert Burnet's statement¹ that members of the Privy Council had to be compelled to witness the torture of prisoners by the boot, is worth mentioning, if only because Scott did not use it in defence of the royalist government.

After Dundee's victory at Killiecrankie, Lord Evandale proposes² to bring about the defection of the Life Guards from King William to King James; we have already seen that Captain Creighton, when under Mackay's command, actually corresponded with Dundee with a view to such defection; he stated that Lord Kilsyth intended to go over.³ Mackay's Memoirs confirm this and name Creighton; but the movement took place - and aborted - before Killiecrankie, not after.

When Basil Olifant's men shot Lord Evandale, ^cGuddie Headrigg

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1. Burnet, History of his Own Time (1st ed.), II, 583.
 2. Old Mortality, II, 258.
 3. Swift, x, 179; Mackay's Memoirs, (Bannatyne Club), 28.

promptly shot Olifant from behind a hedge.¹ According to a statement quoted by Sharpe, "during the engagement [at Drumclog], one of the parishioners of Evandale, concealing himself behind a hillock, fired eight shots at Claverhouse."² The incident itself is not particularly distinctive, but the coincidence of the word Evandale is curious.

It will now be clear that Scott did not use Walker and Howie for facts in the sober history of the Covenant. But these authorities, however late, are completely reliable as expressions of the Cameronian spirit, and Scott uses them as such by the extensive and brilliant imitation of their style. The dialogue which Scott puts in the mouth of his Presbyterians is certainly not parody; it is hardly fair even to call it pastiche, for the use of that word implies something voulu, whereas Scott speaks the language like a native. This perfect familiarity is the principal evidence for the proposition that Scott was steeped to the bone in Presbyterian history.

In Niel Blane's Howff, Burley³ says to Bothwell: "I will forthwith make thee an example to all such railing Rabshakehs." Walker and Howie, in the Life of Alexander Peden, both quote a prediction of Peden⁴ to the Earl of Loudon's factor: "You shall be set up as a beacon to all such railing Rabshakehs."

1. Old Mortality, II, 352.

2. Kirkton, op. cit., 444 (n).

3. Old Mortality, I, 76.

4. Biographia Presbyteriana, I, 50.

"The preparing of a table for the troop, and the furnishing a drink-offering to the number," quoted from Scripture by Maise when flyting at the dragoons¹ in Milnwood House, appears in the Cloud of Witnesses (James Nisbet: against paying cess), and doubtless elsewhere.

Kettledrummle inveighs, on the road to Drumclog,² against "an ambitious Diotrephes, like the lad Evandale; a covetous and world-following Demas, like him they ca' Sergeant Bothwell." Similarly, Howie's Appendix on persecutors,³ (which shows how they all came to a bad end), under the heading of Archbishop Sharp, ascribes to that prelate "the ambition of Diotrephes, the covetousness of Demas," etc.

When Burley declares, after Drumclog, that "this booted apostle of prelacy," Lord Evandale, must die the death, he uses a favourite phrase, which may be found, for example, in Howie's Appendix under Thomas Kennoway,⁴ or even in the moderate Wodrow.⁵

When Kettledrummle, preaching after Drumclog, speaks of Charles II as a "nursing father to none but his own bastards,"⁶ he is reprobating a term, "nursing father", very commonly used by the right-wing in the 17th Century for the King's relationship to the Church. He may be

1. Ibid., I, 155.

2. Ibid., I, 261.

3. Howie, Biographia Scoticana, or Scots Worthies, Appendix, p.27 (ed. 1796).

4. Howie, op. cit., App., p.31.

5. Wodrow, op. cit., I, 214.

6. Old Mortality, I, 311.

echoing Howie's Appendix on persecutors, which speaks of Charles II's "numerous brood of bastards begot on other men's wives," as part of its critical biography of that incorrigible person;¹ or even Cargill, the Cameronian preacher, who "ran the parallel ... between Charles II and Coniah ..."² Kettledrummle, however, did not call Charles Coniah, but "Jeroboam, Omri, Ahab, Shallum, Pekah, and every other evil monarch recorded in the Chronicles," Perhaps Scott was using some other source here, or perhaps he was simply drawing, after the Presbyterian manner, on his own unequalled knowledge of the Bible.

In connection with one of Burley's quotations, "The sons of Zeruah are yet too strong for us,"³ it is worth noting that this phrase occurs in Somers' Tracts⁴ in the mouth of an English Independent; as a reminder that the English Puritans used this style of speech as well, and may therefore claim some share in the genesis of Old Mortality.

The insane Mucklewrath declares, "my name is changed to Magor-Missabib, because I am made a terror unto myself and unto all that are around me"⁵, thus adopting a quotation which occurs in Howie's Appendix on persecutors.⁶ Scott shows every sign of knowing this pamphlet well;

1. Howie, op. cit., App., P.33.
2. Biographia Presbyteriana, II, 10.
3. Old Mortality, II, 4.
4. Op. cit., IV, 525.
5. Old Mortality, II, 25.
6. Howie, op. cit., App., ii.

indeed, it was just the thing to entertain him - good, vigorous, sustained invective. - Poor Mucklewrath had been a prisoner on the Bass Rock, well known as the place of detention for, among others, Peden and Blackader.

"To your tents, O Israel", heard as a cry from a section of the disorderly army at Bothwell Brig,¹ is a standard enough Bible quotation; yet it is interesting to note that Scott, annotating the Somers Tracts,² records that Charles I had it hooted at him in the streets of London on the way back from his visit to the Guildhall in January 1642: another little English detail.

The Covenanter who said to Claverhouse, before being shot dead by the dragoons, "Mischief shall haunt the violent man",³ was using a phrase applied to Irvine of Bonshaw in Howie's Appendix on persecutors,⁴ and in Walker's 'Life of Cameron.' Mucklewrath's dying words⁵ - one of Scott's supreme passages - end with the appeal, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge the blood of thy saints!" - a quotation which, from its appositeness for a persecuted sect, occurs not seldom in the literature and may be seen, for example, in the introduction to the biography of James Renwick.⁶

1. Old Mortality, II, 164.

2. Somers, IV, 347.

3. Old Mortality, II, 194.

4. Howie, op. cit., App. P.32.

5. Old Mortality, II, 197.

6. Biographia Presbyteriana: 'Life of Renwick' by Michael Shields, P.2.

On the day of his departure for foreign parts, Morton is advised by Claverhouse not to waste too much pity on Ephraim Macbriar, who would cheerfully have condemned Morton to death, if the opportunity had presented itself, on the strength of a single text, for example, "And Phinehas arose and executed judgement", or something to the same purpose.¹ In fact, Howie's Appendix, so often quoted already, gives this very text as a defence of the murder of Sharpe.²

It is not surprising that royalist quotations are very few in comparison, since the "establishment" party, then as at other times, was relatively conventional in its thought and expression. Lady Margaret Bellenden's declaration³ that she "had rather that the rigs of Tillietudlem bare naething but windle-straes and sandy lavrocks than that they were ploughed by rebels to the King", is a quotation from Lauderdale, as reported by Lauder of Fountainhall.⁴ Scott liked it, and quoted it again in Tales of a Grandfather.

Major Bellenden's dislike of civil war is expressed in the words "It's a hard thing to hear a hamely Scotch tongue cry quarter."⁵ Similarly, Defoe's Cavalier (in Memoirs of a Cavalier) expresses this feeling in a passage quoted by Scott in his article on Defoe,⁶ and uses

1. Old Mortality, II, 226.

2. Howie, op. cit., App., p.27.

3. Old Mortality, I, 125.

4. Historical Observes (Ed. Bann. Club), I, 94: see also Grandfather, III, 228.

5. Old Mortality, I, 207.

6. Lives, II, 255.

the words "It grieved me to the heart ... to hear a man cry for quarter in English." This is another little English borrowing, of course. (Defoe's Cavalier is fiction; but Scott believed it had some traditional basis.)¹

Sergeant Bothwell recounts how, as a mercenary soldier in France, he once had to stand guard for six hours, in full equipment, under a burning sun, for absence from parade;² Robert Monro, a Scottish soldier of fortune in sober reality, relates precisely the same experience; his tour of sentry-duty lasted nine hours instead of Bothwell's six,³ so that in this case the strangeness of fact is not fully exploited in the fiction. Monro took a prominent part in the Civil Wars after his continental experience in the Thirty Years' War, in which respect he offers a close parallel to Sergeant Bothwell, though at the distance of fully one generation.

The historical borrowings for Rob Roy (1817) can be conveniently set out under character headings. This novel has three quite clearly-marked groups of characters - the English or Osbaldistone group, the Lowland Scots, and the Highlanders.

The English group is the least interesting; but two points are to hand. The name Osbaldistone occurs in Somers Tracts⁴ as Osbaldstone;

1. Ibid., II, 252.

2. Old Mortality, I, 161.

3. Robert Monro, Monro his Expedition, etc. (1637), Part I, p.45.

4. Somers, VII, 108.

this seems to indicate that the name should be pronounced with the accent on the initial vowel, as if it were "Oswald's town" - to risk a Pinkertonian or Oldbuckian derivation. The other point concerns Justice Inglewood, surely the most "alive" of the group. This Jacobite gentleman had been a non-juror, like everyone else in his very Jacobite neighbourhood, but was obliged to qualify as a J.P. by taking the oaths to government, under pressure from his fellow-squires, who saw the game-laws falling into disuse for want of a magistrate to enforce them.¹ In this matter, Inglewood is impersonating our old friend the Master of Sinclair, who says "I must take oaths to King George because nobody of our party would accept of being Justice of Peace if I did not, and in that case the whole country would be left to the mercy of the Whigs."² Observe Scott's slight improvement in the interests of the humour of the piece.

In the Lowland Scottish group, precedence obviously belongs to Bailie Nicol Jarvie. (The talk of Andrew Fairservice, his only rival, though the richest of vernacular outpourings, seems to owe little to the historians). - There was published in Rob Roy's lifetime a catch-penny biography of Rob called The Highland Rogue, sometimes ascribed to Defoe; though not by Scott, who mentions it in the Rob Roy.

Introduction.³

1. Rob Roy, I, 213.
2. Sinclair, op. cit., p.12.
3. Rob Roy, I, 58.

It contains the following interesting passage:- "His creditors grew almost past hopes of recovering their money; they offered a large reward to any that should attempt it successfully ... at length a Bailiff, who had no small opinion of his own courage and conduct, undertook the affair, Having provided a good horse, and equipped himself for the journey, he set out without any attendance, and in a few hours arrived at Craigroyston, where, meeting with some of Rob Roy's men, he told them he had business of great importance to deliver to their master in private. Rob Roy, having notice of it, ordered them to give him admittance. As soon as he came in, the Captain demanded his business: Sir (says the other), though you have had misfortunes in the world, yet knowing you to be in your nature an honourable gentleman, I made bold to visit you on account of a small debt, which I don't doubt but you will discharge if it lies in your power. - Honest friend (says McGregor), I am sorry that at present I cannot answer your demand, but if your affairs will permit you to lodge at my house tonight, I hope by tomorrow I shall be better provided ... Rob then caused an old suit to be stuffed with straw and hung from a tree, informing the bailiff that this was the corpse of a bailiff who had dunned him for debt; the man fled in terror," etc., etc.

This is certainly the germ of the most interesting part of Rob Roy. The Bailiff becomes the famous Baillie, whose self-conceit is

equal to that of his original, and whose errand to Rob Roy is the very same. In the course of the Bailie's classical visit to Rob Roy's country, no suit stuffed with straw is hung from a tree; but Jarvie goes one better and hangs from a tree in person, "like an auld potato bogle,"¹ owing his safety to the "gude braid clath" of which his dress was made. - In the light of all this Scott's remark on the pamphlet acquires additional interest: "Some few of the best-known adventures of the hero are told, though with little accuracy; but the greater part of the pamphlet is entirely fictitious."²

Some of the Bailie's conversation is derived from historical matter. When he talks³ of Glasgow's trade with America - sortable cargoes, Stirling serges, Musselburgh stuffs, Edinburgh shaloons, and goods from Manchester, Sheffield, and Newcastle - the lynx-eyed reader wonders how all this commercial prosperity could have burgeoned within eight short years of the Union; the explanation is that Scott here reproduces, practically verbatim, a passage in A Tour through Great Britain ... by a Gentleman, 4th Edition, 1748, of which the first edition was by Defoe. Such a passage could scarcely have been written earlier; but as we have already seen, Scott was not the man to worry much about an anachronism of the sort. - This borrowing was first pointed

1. Rob Roy, II, 226.

2. Rob Roy, I, 59.

3. Ibid., II, 122.

out by Robert Chambers, in his Illustrations of the Author of Waverley;¹ a book which contains much unsupported speculation about Scott's sources, but does make a few good points.

John Jamieson, already mentioned several times, issued in 1818 an annotated edition of Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland, to which he added, by courtesy of Walter Scott, extracts from a MS. of Stewart of Invernahyle, and from a MS. by Graham of Gartmore on the causes of rebellion in the Highlands, written about 1747. As Rob Roy came out just before Jamieson's edition, Scott must have been looking at these MS. about the time when he was writing the novel, and accordingly we find that Jarvie's lecture² to Osbaldistone and Owen on the state of the Highlands in 1715 contains verbatim quotations from Graham's MS. of 1747 - the 230 Highland parishes including Orkney, each with 800 examinable persons, plus something for non-examinable persons under 9 years, making a total of 230,000, of which 57,500 are fighting men - all this is common to Jarvie and Graham.³ Scott's quotation is, of course, free in places; when Jarvie says that the Highlanders work as if a pleugh or a spaë burned their fingers, Scott is not quoting Graham, but a Lowland ploughman he met in Shetland in 1814⁴ (the saying seems proverbial, however).

1. See ed. 1884, pp. 110 ff.

2. Rob Roy, II, 130 ff.

3. See Burt, op. cit., ed. 1818, App. IV.

4. Lockhart, II, 352-3.

Eager to assert the importance of the merchant class, Bailie Jarvie¹ quotes Baker's Chronicle ("no great authority perhaps" as Scott said² in Somers Tracts) to the effect that "the merchants o' London could gar the Bank of Genoa break their promise to advance a mighty sum to the King of Spain, whereby the sailing of the Grand Spanish Armada was put aff for a haill year." The story does not seem to occur in Baker, but it is in Burnet,³ who derived it from a traditional source.

Instead of admiring the scenic beauty of Loch Lomond, the Bailie calculates the possibility of draining it, "to give to plough and harrow many hundred, ay, many a thousand acres."⁴ Thomas Pennant, in his Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides,⁵ mentions the scheme of a Mr. Golbourne, to lower the surface of ~~the~~ Loch Lomond, and recover some thousands of acres, Scott goes further, and makes the Baillie see a vision of coal-barges passing between Dumbarton & Glenfalloch over the remaining portion of the loch.

The only other Lowland characters to offer any point of historical interest are Galbraith of Garschattachin and the "Duke" (of Montrose, apparently, judging by the reference to his "great

-
1. Rob Roy, II, 145.
 2. Somers, II, 453.
 3. Burnet, op. cit., I, 357.
 4. Rob Roy, II, 328.
 5. ed. 1774, p.178.

ancestor").¹ For the benefit of these two persons, Scott disinterred some lines which he had found "in a MS. note on Spottiswoode's History," and had already quoted in the Somers Tracts:²

"Earl of Guile and Lord for Lorn thou goes,
Leaving thy native prince to serve his foes.
No faith in plaids, no truth in tartan trews,
Cameleon-like, they change a thousand hues."

The last couplet of this anti-Campbell verse is quoted by the "Duke"³ and the pun on Argyll's titles is given to Garschattachin when in his cups at the Clachan of Aberföyle.⁴ This Galbraith's estate of Garschattachin lay in Strathendrick,⁵ and there were in fact Galbraiths of Ballgair in Strathendrick in the 18th Century;⁶ he may thus rank as semi-historical.

As in the case of Waverley, Rob Roy contains information about Highland life before 1745 which might, or might not, have come from one particular source; the sticking a dirk in the tavern table, for example, as a sign that there is to be no brawling, occurs in Burt's Letters,⁷ but might be well enough known otherwise. One does not always find such an obvious quotation as Bailie Jarvie's from Graham of Gartmore. The traditions about Rob Roy himself on which Scott

1. Rob Roy, II, 263.

2. Somers, II, 518.

3. Rob Roy, II, 263.

4. Ibid., II, 191.

5. Ibid., II, 183.

6. I, 350; II, 200.

7. Macfarlane's Geographical Collections, Letter XXIII.

drew are to be found in Scott's own Introduction, already referred to in Part I; but, as was his way, he took a leading idea in his novel, not from the traditions about Rob, but from those of another cateran of the period, John Gunn, who infested Inverness-shire. In his notes to "The Lady of the Lake",¹ Scott tells the story of an officer carrying money to Inverness to pay the troops in garrison there, who was so afraid of freebooters that he incautiously pressed his fellow-guest at an inn, a complete stranger, to be his companion and guide, though the man was obviously unwilling. He did better for himself than he knew: the reluctant guide was John Gunn, who had been proposing to rob him, but who felt bound in honour to desist after accepting the traveller's confidence. In the same way, the "chield Morris", an excise officer, was carrying money to Scotland, and was so afraid of highwaymen that he incautiously pressed his fellow-guest at an inn, a complete stranger, to be his companion and guide. In this case, however, Rob Roy displayed no such honourable scruples as John Gunn; he and his confederates duly robbed Morris, although Rob at least went along with John Gunn so far as to accept the confidence of the traveller with marked reluctance,² having already formed designs against him, "Rob Roy" is really a much less romantic novel than people who have never read it are apt to think.

1. p.221

2. Rob Roy, I, 164-5; and I, 236.

For the brawl at the Clachan of Aberfoyle, one might think Highland tradition supplied material enough; and yet the exclamation¹ of the Highlander - "If ye be pretty men, draw!" seems to be an echo from the Memorie of the Somervilles² edited by Scott two years previous to the composition of this novel, and in which a Capt. Crawford says to a Somerville of Drum, "If you be a pretty man, draw your sword."

Finally, the groups of characters being disposed of, there is a word to be said about the historical probability of the plot of the novel. Upholders of the romantic view of Rob Roy may be surprised, on examining the plot, to find how very modern it is historically. Rashleigh Osbaldistone, the Jacobite conspirator, although a dreadful stage villain of the old school, has a new way of bringing his enemies to their knees: he proposed to use economic and financial weapons. Some Highland gentry, we are told, had sold their woods to English firms, including that of Osbaldistone and Tresham; on being paid in bills of exchange, they had raised money on the bills and spent it. By engineering the ruin of Osbaldistone and Tresham, Rashleigh hoped to raise claims against these Highland proprietors which they could not meet, and thus drive them into

1. Ibid., II, 177.

2. II, 271.

rebellion.¹ There were also hopes of a disastrous run on the Bank of England when the rebellion should break out.²

There is nothing out of keeping in all this. At that time we were within five years of the South Sea Bubble; the attempt of the York Building Company to develop Highland estates was yet to come, but the purchase of Highland woods by Mason, an Englishman, is recorded as early as 1632;³ Lockhart of Carnwath asserts that there was a run on the Bank in 1708, when the Old Pretender appeared in the Firth of Forth with a fleet, though unable to land.⁴ All this makes the plot of Rob Roy reasonably probable. There is an authentic touch, too, about Mr. Owen's mention⁵ of the depreciation of the French coinage; Sir John Dalrymple mentions this,⁶ as something forced on Louis XIV by the burden of his wars.

All the same, plausible as the story is, there does not appear to be any historical foundation for it. It seems fairly certain that the idea arose out of Scott's own financial affairs; from 1813 to 1817 he was in difficulties with bills of exchange, and the financial passages in Rob Roy are reminiscent of Scott's business letters in these years. The publication of the novel on 31st December 1817 makes it, in a sense, a fitting epilogue to Scott's first and less fatal spell of financial difficulty.

1. Rob Roy, II, 142 ff.

2. Ibid., II, 342.

3. Macfarlane's Collections

4. Memoirs (1714), 367-8.

5. Rob Roy, I, 124.

6. Op. cit., Pt. IV, Bk. I, p. 183 (year 1702).

The obvious historical features of The Heart of Midlothian (1818) are of course the Porteous Riots of 1736 - which had to be faithfully narrated, as already well-known - and the story of Helen Walker; on both of which Scott has much to say in his prefatory matter and notes. And yet one might almost call this a Covenanting novel, so prominent and pervasive is the character of David Deans, that eloquent veteran of the Killing Time. His delightful talk is the apotheosis of Covenanting style, as displayed in the writers of the "high-flying" groups, especially Patrick Walker, whom Scott was quoting as early as the days of the Minstrelsy (see his notes on the Historical Ballads). Scriptural phrases like "a polished shaft in the temple", "the carved work of the sanctuary", "right-hand extremes and left-hand defections", "breathings of a gale upon the spirit", and a host of others, are the small change of Puritan literature; but there are a number of things which appear sufficiently individual to deserve special notice.

David refers to his first wife as "that singular Christian woman whose name was savoury to all that knew her for a desirable professor",¹ and so does Patrick Walker: "Barbara Brice and Marion Kinloch my first wife (whose names are savoury to all who knew them for two desirable Christians."² Walker's 'Address to the Reader' and

1. Heart of Midlothian, I, 158.

2. Biographia Presbyteriana, I, 250.

'Life of Cameron' display the phrase "nation-wasting and church-sinking abominations of union, toleration, and patronage."¹ The distinctive adjective "heaven-daring", used by Deans to describe the degenerate times he lived in,² occurs in the same pamphlet and is repeated in Howie's Appendix on Persecutors (p.40), in the account of Queensberry. - When Deans objects³ to the employment of a certain advocate in his daughter's defence, on the ground that he is a "Cocceian", he is probably recalling precious Mr. James Renwick, who boggled over his ordination in Holland at the hands of a Cocceian divine.⁴ It is perhaps doubtful whether a Scottish advocate in 1736 was really likely to deserve this epithet. - "Ye're a silly callant, Reuben, with your bits of argument", says Deans;⁵ thus Sandy Peden in his life by Walker: "Ye're a vain man, James, with your bits of papers and drops of blood."⁶

Honest David has a story⁷ to the effect that a conventicle congregation once abandoned their devotions to assist a black man at the nearby ford, who had got into difficulties and was being carried downstream; when a rope was thrown to him, he proceeded, with supernatural strength, to drag a dozen of his assistants after him;

1. Biog. Presb., I, xviii; I, 237; Heart of Midlothian, I, 216.

2. Ibid., I, 220; also Biog. Presb., I, 242, 314.

3. Heart of Midlothian, I, 234.

4. Shields' 'Renwick', p.25, in Biographia Presbyteriana, Vol. II (1827)

5. Heart, I, 236.

6. Biog. Presb., I, 71.

7. Heart, I, 275; Biog. Presb., I, 168-9.

but the minister, John Semple, identified him as Satan, and warned his followers to quit the rope. The story, as told by Walker and Howie in their lives of Semple, stops here; but David Deans continues: "Sae we let go the rape, and he went adown the water screeching and bullering like a Bull of Bashan." This detail, ~~th~~ all appearance a romantic addition, seems to have been supplied from Sharpe's edition of Law's Memorials, which quotes¹ the account of a man who shot "the foul thief", "but he gaed doon the water like a meikle bill roaring", instead of drowning like flesh and blood.

David's description of himself as "a humble pleader for the good old cause in a legal way"² corresponds to "humbly pleading for the good old way in a legal manner", in Walker's Life of Cameron³. The list of Cameronian varieties - "MacMillanite, Russellite, Hamiltonian ... Harleyite ... Howdenite", answers to a practically identical list in the Appendix to Walker's 'Life of Peden.'⁴ - David's lamentation over the inferiority of the "second temple" of 1689 to the "first temple" of 1639,⁵ echoes John Howie's account of John Dickson.⁶ Another good phrase of David's describes the inordinate desire of young ministers for "kirks, stipends, and wives" - this again is in Walker's 'Life of Cameron.'⁷ David's perception that the 1689 settlement was not wholly

1. p.8.

2. Heart, I, 352.

3. Biog. Presb., I, 228; also I, 214, etc.

4. Biog. Presb., I, 122-3.

5. Ibid., I, 357.

6. Howie, Op. cit., 525.

7. Biog. Presb., I, 228.

evil is not merely a reflection of Scott's commonsense; it is founded on Walker.¹

Even a single word may on occasion demonstrate Scott's familiarity with Presbyterian tradition. David Deans deplored among other things, the fact that established clergymen were obliged to "homologate" an Erastian constitution and the Union of 1707² by taking oaths to government. Gilbert Burnet, speaking of his early missionary efforts in the Covenanting West of Scotland on behalf of the episcopal establishment, says that the peasantry were well-informed dialecticians in the matter of church government;³ on another page, he says they were much given to using this word "homologate" in discussion. Burnet's statement, incidentally, would seem to help in justifying the attribution, by tradition, of a high intellectual character to the older Scottish peasantry. It does more; it enables the modern reader to visualise these 17th Century Covenanters as the analogue of 20th Century working-class socialists (possibly themselves a dying race?) with their set phrases - "class conflict," "exploitation of man by man", and so on. It is a great pity that the socialist classics of modern times lack the literary merits of their predecessors.

The foregoing account of David Deans' roots is reasonably long, but

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1. Biog. Presb., I, 231, 237; Heart of Midlothian, I, 357.
 2. Heart, II, 295.
 3. Burnet, Op. cit., I, 247, 293.

is yet far from exhaustive. Scott himself, in the annotation of his novel, acknowledges some debts to the Cameronian writers, to which our present list is merely a supplement. A number of sayings - such as "his gifts will get the heels of his grace" have a proverbial air which rather excludes them from consideration. Finally, the points made here are simply things noted in passing by a reader of Scott during the perusal of his sources; another reader would see other things. A complete account, if it were possible, would be a world's wonder.

It is worth remarking again that Scott drew upon these sub-contemporary propagandists, not for facts so much as for atmosphere. He says: "It is from such tracts as these [Walker's] written in the sense, feeling, and spirit of the sect, and not from the sophisticated narratives of a later period, that the real character of the persecuted class is to be gathered." Obviously, Scott could use such material much more freely in novels than in formal history.

Some other borrowings from Covenanting writers appear in The Heart of Midlothian, though not put into the mouth of Deans. Reuben Butler is reproached¹ with "a sort of bastard and fiery zeal" which echoes Walker's "wild-fire of bastard zeal" in Cameron's Life. (Biog. Presb., I, 249). - Deans is jeered² at by a fellow in the crowd at the

1. Heart of Midlothian, I, 259.

2. Ibid., I, 386.

Parliament Close, on the day of his daughter's trial, as a "ruling elder", come "to see a precious sister glorify God in the Grassmarket." This seems almost proverbial: it is given by Burnet as from the Duke of Lauderdale,¹ as well as by Howie, who says of Robert Garnock that when he was brought out of Greyfriars Churchyard, a bystander "in way of jeer, said I had a face to glorify God in the Grassmarket."² - Mrs. Saddletree's invective against the female sartorial vanities of "cockups and fallal duds"³ is authentic, as cockups are reported to have been preached against as worldly vanities by Peden (Biog. Presb., I, 138) and by Kirkton.⁴ The passage from Walker is actually quoted by Scott in his Review of Kirkton.⁵

The enemies of the Covenant contribute comparatively little. The wicked Laird of Dumbiedikes, father of Jeanie Deans' wooer, is said "to have "Soughed awa" in an attempt to sing "Deil Stick the Minister":⁶ that this was a popular anti-clerical ditty is proved by Lauder of Fountainhall, who reports⁷ that at Stirling "one is convened for reviling the minister, in causing the pipes to play 'Deil Stick the Minister.'" (He was an episcopal minister, doubtless, and one might suspect the reviler of being a Covenanter, but for the

1. Op. cit., I, 416.

2. Howie, op. cit., 398.

3. Heart, I, 443.

4. Op. cit., xix.

5. 'Kirkton Review', 217.

6. Heart, I, 70.

7. Historical Notices, June 5, 1683 (Bannatyne Club ed.)

circumstance of the pipes). - "Ye're welcome, Whigs, frae Bothwell Brigs", chants another person in the Parliament Close crowd; this was actually a popular anti-Covenanting song.¹

"Bible Butler", the English Independent trooper who remained in Scotland to settle, when Monk marched South to bring about the Restoration, preserved a muster-roll of his troop, commanded by Captain Salathiel Bangtext, which contained such fantastic names as "Obadiah Muggleton, "Sin-Despise Double-knock, Stand-fast-in-the faith Gipps, Turn-to-the-right Thwack-away."² This type of thing seems to reflect royalist satire more than Puritan practice. Scott no doubt believed, with the royalist Cleveland,³ that Cromwell had beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament; that you might learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of Cromwell's regiment, and so on. Hume's History⁴ quotes from Broome's Travels in England a jury-list containing names like "Standfast on High", "Fight the Good Fight of Faith", "Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham"; but Scott's names seem rather less blasphemous. - The allegation that Monk got rid of unsuitable men before his march to London, seems, to be authentic, as Nicoll states that Monk "cassered" the disaffected before leaving Scotland.⁵

1. See Maidment, Jas., Scottish Pasquils, p.3.

2. Heart, II, 179.

3. quoted in Hume, History (ed. 1812), VII, 230.

4. Ibid.

5. Nicoll, Diary, 252 (Bann. Club).

There is a curious quotation from Irish history in this Scotch novel. During Jeanie's famous interview with Queen Caroline, she innocently makes a very tactless remark, whereupon Argyle¹ thinks "she has shot dead by a kind of chance-medley, her only hope of success." Speaking of a Dr. Sheridan (grandfather of Richard Brinsley), who inadvertently preached on the text "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" on the birthday of the Hanoverian King, Swift says that "by mere chance-medley, [he] shot his own fortune dead with a single text." Swift was, of course, a wittier man than Scott. Strangely enough, both Swift and the Laird of Dumbiedikes always insisted on having a good fire.

There is an even more curious importation from English history. Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain² relate how Lord William Russell, condemned to death on account of the Rye House Plot in 1683, took leave of his wife before execution. His eyes "followed hers while she quitted the room: and when he lost sight of her, turning to the clergyman who attended him, he said, 'The bitterness of death is now past.'" So Effie Deans, on trial for child-murder, when her father was carried unconscious from the court, followed by Jeanie, "pursued them with her eyes so earnestly fixed, as if they would have started from

1. Heart, II, 210.

2. Part I, Bk. I, p.32.

their sockets. But when they were no longer visible, she seemed to find ... courage ... 'The bitterness of it is now past,' she said." One observes the gratuitous addition concerning the eyes starting from their sockets. There is an intriguing contrast between the two versions of this incident in the matter of historical and social setting.

The historical background of A Legend of Montrose (1819) is the Montrose campaigns in the Highlands, 1644 and 1645; two incidents only are selected by Scott for special treatment - the battle at Inverlochy and the conference of Highland chiefs which inaugurated the war. As Inverlochy comes into the class of well-worn paths of history, Scott describes it faithfully from the accepted accounts. More interesting is the conference of chiefs, at which Montrose dramatically reveals his identity¹ and shows his commission, and which is dramatically interrupted by Sir Duncan Campbell, the envoy of Argyll, with a proposal of mutual abstention from plunder.² Such conferences might be said to be favourites with Scott; he introduces them into Waverley and the Legend without historical warrant, beyond what is provided by Mar's gathering of chiefs in 1715. All the same, there is a curious and interesting foundation for the conference in the Legend.

1. Legend, 137.

2. Ibid., 148.

Peter Rae, in his history of the '15 rebellion, describes a conference between rebel leaders and a Sir Duncan Campbell,¹ in which the rebels - not Campbell - propose that neither party should plunder. The conference came to nothing, according to Rae, owing to Campbell's unwillingness to make any agreement with rebels. Here is another direct and unmistakeable borrowing from the annals of 1715. - It will be remembered that Argyll, in the novel, refused to treat with Dalgety, as representing rebels.²

This novel also makes use of historical material from the more restricted field of clan and family history - the story of James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, and the annals of the McGregors who slaughtered his uncle, Drummond-Ernock. The question of recorded fact and tradition in McGregor history has already been touched upon. The interesting thing is that Scott, in developing the fictitious theme of deadly feud between Allan Macaulay (representing James Stewart) and the outlaws who had so injured his family, might well have taken his details wholly from Highland tradition without going any further afield; and yet he does not do so. Allan produces a bleeding, newly-severed human head at his father's dinner-table, as evidence that he has slain a family foe; these words

1. Rae, Hist. of the late Rebellion, p.288-9 (ed. 1718).

2. Legend, 204.

exactly describe an incident in The Cid, quoted by Scott from Robert Southey's edition, in the course of his review of that work for the Quarterly¹ in 1809. Spanish tradition has therefore contributed something to the Waverley Novels.- incidentally, Scott values the Cid as a source for social history: "whether the history of the Cid be real or fictitious, it is exceedingly valuable as a singular picture of manners."

The celebrated Dugald Dalgetty is derived by Scott himself from Sir James Turner; and there are indeed other points of correspondence besides the discussion about fides et fiducia, already handled in this study. "Being discontented with my colonel ... for imposing too hard conditions of recruits on me, I took my leave of that service."² In such a manner did Dugald quit the Spanish service - after a difference with his Spanish colonel. Turner quotes a "dangerous maxim" which he had picked up in Germany: "so we serve our master honestly, it is no matter what master we serve."³ This of course is a leading feature of Dugald's philosophy and the key to his varied career. Turner, after failing to obtain a passage to England to serve the King in the Civil War, took passage to Scotland and served the Covenant - Dugald, inclining to the Covenanters as better pay-masters,

1. Legend, 103; Review of Southey's 'Cid,' 46 (Prose Works, XVIII).

2. Turner's Memoirs, 11. (Bannatyne Club).

3. Ibid., 14.

joins the King because he has accidentally fallen in with congenial royalist company. Serving in Ireland, Turner complains "we fingered no pay the whole time" except for three months - Dugald makes the same complaint about the Swedish service. At the capture of Newcastle by the Covenanters in 1644, Turner complained that he had "not one pennie worth" of the plunder - Dugald, too, was baulked of booty after Inverlochy.¹ Perhaps Turner's friendship with two Jesuits, "wittie men and jolly companions,"² suggested ^{Dugald's} Dugald's drinking bout with Father Fatsides.³

Turner is not Dalgetty, however; Scott's great characters are always independent. Turner had some conscience, beyond the scruples of the mercenary soldier; he says he turned royalist in principle in 1644, although he did not change sides in practice till 1648, after the Scottish Committee of Estates "obliged many officers, to ease the kingdom forsooth, to quit a third part of their pay voluntarily; for which simplicity the kirk cryd them up for good patriots, and this was enough to put these simpletons in the full possession of a fool's paradise." - Sir James differs from Sir Dugald in having a wife, and displaying a very evident affection for her. Nor can one imagine the Rittmaster writing philosophical essays.⁴

1. Legend, 330, 366.

2. Op. cit., p.127.

3. Legend, 57.

4. See D.N.B., 'Turner, Sir James.'

There can be little doubt, however, that the main prototype of Dugald is Col. Robert Monro, who published in 1637 an account of his service under Christian of Denmark and Gustavus of Sweden, and to whom Scott himself acknowledges his indebtedness in the Introduction (1830) to the Legend. For admirers of Dugald, this book will richly repay study. Much of Dalgetty's characteristic vocabulary is in Monro - the invincible Gustavus, the immortal Gustavus, the Lion of the North, provant, sconces, stackets, caduacs, old Tilly, the Irishman Walter Butler, Ludovick Leslie, stout Hepburn, valiant Lumsdale, the Scottish convent at Wurzburg, camerades, worthy cavaliers, dorps (for villages), boors (for peasants), the black beer of Rostock - it is all here, together with endless lectures on the military art, and on the duty of officers and commanders. Dugald's reprobation of the German mercenaries who cried "Geld! Geld!" on the battlefield, and threw down their arms instead of engaging the enemy (Legend, 53, and Monro his Expedition, I, 7,¹ 24, 30); his song,

"When cannons are roaring, and bullets are flying,

The lad that would have honour, boys, must never fear dying," (Legend, 109, and Monro, I, 65 - in prose); his account of the gallantry of an Irish regiment at the siege of Frankfort (Legend, 65, Monro, II, 34); his wound in the left thigh (Legend, 251, and

1. N.B. The two volumes are bound in one.

Monro, II, 149); the immortal Gustavus's addiction to the use of spade and shovel in war (Legend, 176, and Monro, II, 141); Dugald's attachment to his horse (Legend, passim, and Monro, I, 30-31); his word of command - "To your right, countermarch, and retreat to your former ground" - (Legend, 99 and Monro, II, 189); his professional desire to try out the new device of burning bullets full of fire, as used by Stephen Bathian, King of Poland, at Moscow (Legend, 178, and Monro, II, 213) - all these come straight out of Monro's pages, although they are incorporated in the novel so naturally and flexibly that no-one would ever suspect it. The point about the soldier's attachment to his horse is, as one might suppose, greatly developed by Scott.

But unlike Dalgetty, Monro seems to have been not only a gallant officer but a decent man, showing, for example, much deeper feeling on the occasion of Gustavus's death (Monro, II, 167-70) than Dalgetty could ever be capable of, in spite of his endless allusions to the warrior king; reprobating plunder in war; not harping on pay and allowances; adhering loyally to the Protestant side; and ending his book with "The Christian soldier going on service his Meditations" (Monro, II, 217).

Among the additional pamphlets which Scott inserted in his edition of Somers Tracts is Sir Roger Williams' Actions in the Low

Countries. This is an account of the career of a mercenary in the Netherlands at the time of the revolt against Spain, in the course of which he fought both for and against the Spaniards. The story of the mercenaries who shouted "Geld! Geld!" instead of fighting, appears here also;¹ describing the siege of Harlem, Williams informs us that among the defenders, was a company of three hundred women, and that the women's captain was "a most stout dame"² - surely the original for Dugald's "Captain of the Queans" in Alva's army; finally, Williams frankly admits that he entered the Spanish service (after serving the Dutch) because he had no money.³ In this respect, Williams resembles Dugald more than Turner or Monro. It is of some interest to note that Williams was a Welshman; and so one of the greatest Scotsmen in fiction has, as it were, a dash of Welsh blood in him. One thinks of Fluellen and Captain Jamy.

Still another original for Dugald is our old acquaintance the Master of Sinclair, already proposed as an element in the Baron of Bradwardine - after all, Dugald and the Baron have a good deal in common. All three of them are given to lecturing; and in Sinclair's disquisition on the fortification of Perth,⁴ the scheme whereof was to include some high ground overlooking the town, one can hear Dugald's

1. Somers, I, 337, 341, 352.
2. Tbid., 366; Legend, 183-5.
3. Somers, I, 379-80.
4. Memoirs, 147-9.

criticism of the defences of Ardenvoehr, which is overlooked by an eminence called Drumsnab, and will therefore not be safe until that hillock is provided with a sconce and graffe, or ditch,¹ not to speak of certain stackets or pallisades. Sinclair says, "I could not propose to be of any use among the Highlandmen, whose language I did not understand, or, if I did, who were so savage that it was impossible for any man to bring them to discipline;"² and Dugald echoes, after a compliment to Highland courage, "Were I undertaking to discipline such a breechless mob, it were impossible for me to be understood; and if I were understood, judge ye, my lord, what chance I had of being obeyed among a band of half salvages," etc., etc.³ In the event, Dugald commanded the horse, like Sinclair. The moral inferiority of the Rittmaster to all except perhaps one of his originals may be significant, and will call for comment later.

John, Master of Sinclair, loathed the Earl of Mar, his commander-in-chief in 1715, and makes a great deal of play with the fact that Mar had no commission from the "King", contenting himself with producing a portrait of that Prince and kissing it frequently in public.⁴ The sinister Lord Lovat, in his memoirs, mentions a meeting of Jacobite leaders in 1703, at which a Drummond objected to

1. Legend, 175 ff.
2. Memoirs, 182.
3. Legend, 63.
4. Memoirs, 20, 25.

the proposal of a rebellion because the "King" had appointed no general, and that "the Scottish nobles would never brook submission to one of their own body, unless he were expressly nominated by a particular commission."¹ This objection, says Lovat, was fatal to the proposed rising. Scott must have had all this in mind in composing the Legend, in which the chiefs decline to rise without a royal commission to a fit leader - high-born, wise, brave, and so forth - but are unexpectedly satisfied by Montrose's dramatic throwing-off of his disguise and production of the royal commission, "couched in the most full and ample terms."²

The story of "The Bride of Lammermoor" (1819) is derived, as Scott himself has explained, from a tragedy in the private life of a family of rank in the later 17th Century. But the novel has a basis in more general history as well: it is clearly connected with the famous Gowrie Conspiracy of 1600,³ to which Scott refers frequently in his historical writing - Somers, Secret History, Provincial Antiquities, Grandfather, and the "Lardner" History - so often in fact, that it would be surprising if the case produced no echo in the novels.

King James VI, ^{having exhausted his horse in the chase,} visited, at his house in Perth, the Earl of Gowrie, whose father had been executed by the King's warrant; Sir William Ashton, ^{seen Ravenswood exhaust his horse in the chase,} having

1. Lovat, Memoirs, 163-4.
2. Legend, 134-9.
3. See, e.g., Tytler's Hist. of Scotland, ed. 1845, VII, 393 ff.

visited, at his house of Wolf's Crag, the Master of Ravenswood, whose father had been ruined and driven to his death by Ashton's chicanery. Logan of Restalrig, one of the conspirators, proposed¹ to kidnap the King at Gowrie House and imprison him in his fortress of Fast Castle, on the Berwickshire coast: and behold, Wolf's Crag, though Scott would not admit its identification with Fast Castle,² cannot in fact be anything else. The secret chamber, said Caleb, had not been used since the time of the Gowrie Conspiracy.³ The name of one of the lesser men in the conspiracy - Craigengelt⁴ - is given to a petty intriguer in the novel. In a letter to Gowrie, Logan proposed a conference over a hattit kit; now, this old-fashioned Scottish sweet is mentioned nowhere in Scott's writings except in the Bride, where Caleb Balderstone's simulated thunderbolt spoils the hatted kit that was for the Master's dinner,⁵ just after Ashton and his daughter have entered Wolf's Crag. The Gowrie Conspiracy developed into an obscure^{ur} stabbing incident in a locked room: so did Lucy's marriage to Bucklaw, and in neither case has the whole truth about what happened ever been discovered. The Gowries were interested in magic and astrology;⁵ James VI was a notorious witch-hunter; and the Bride of Lammermoor is the supreme literary product of popular superstition, a story enacted beneath a brooding cloud, and

1. That is, if his "letters" have any genuine basis.
2. Canongate, 19.
3. Bride, I, 144-5.
4. Bride, I, 199.
5. Scott remarks on this in The Lay of the Last Minstrel, 57.

pervaded by an evil fate.

There can be no doubt that Scott was deeply influenced, when writing this novel, by the work he and Sharpe had been doing on Law's Memorialls, (published 1818). Law's history is not of much value, and Scott recognises this when he remarks that Law is less interesting historically than Kirkton;¹ but whereas a historian passes over the Venerable Bede's miracle stories, Scott seizes upon Law's supernatural tales, and imparts their atmosphere - greatly heightened, of course, by his poetical gift - to this grim fiction.

Sharpe's Preface to Law² quotes the case of one Agnes Fynnle, prosecuted for witchcraft in 1644; she had bewitched a youth for calling her ~~in~~ a nickname "Annie Winnie". We have here one of the three fearsome old women in the Bride. Again, Sharpe quotes³ a pamphlet called 'Dialogue between Maggie and Janet' to this effect: "But dear Janet, ye're braw and lang o' the memory, d'ye mind o' the waefu' blast, when the foul thief was in the air" etc. - here we have the quality of the old women's conversation - "did ye ever see the foul thief?" - "But, Ailsie Gourlay, ye're the auldest o' us three, did ye ever see a mair grand bridal?"⁴

1. Letters, IV, 538.

2. Law, Memorialls, p.ix.

3. Ibid., p.8.

4. Bride, I, 388; II, 125.

Several versions of the original story on which the Bride was based are given by Sharpe in his edition of Law, including one to the effect that it was the bridegroom, not the bride, who went mad, and killed the other party; he had been bewitched by the bride's mother, who disapproved of the marriage. Further, Sharpe refers in his Introduction to the Countess of Huntly who lived in Knox's time, as an employer of witches.¹ Taken together, these facts seem sufficient to account for the employment by Lady Ashton of the "witch", Ailsie Gourley, to break her daughter's spirit.

While there is no need to doubt Scott's statement that he had the story of the Bride from the fireside narrations of his mother and his great-aunt, Mrs. Swinton, there is obviously more to the matter. No doubt the material which reached him through more than one channel was the more likely to impress him and find its way into his imaginative work.

Reference has already been made to an English satire on the stingy hospitality of Scotland, printed in the Secret History; the tone is indicated by the following quotations: "They [the Scots] could persuade the [English] footmen that oaten cakes would make them long-winded ... they commend the brave minds of the ... gentlemen of the [King's] bed-chamber, which choose rather to go to taverns than

1. Knox's History (ed. Dickinson), II, 61.

to be always eating of the King's provision ... they persuade the trumpeters that fasting is good for men of that quality; for emptiness, they say, causes wind, and wind causes a trumpet to sound well."¹

For the King's retainers, substitute those of the Marquis of A -, whose courier to Wolf's Crag was assured that cold water was better for the stomach in the morning than ale or brandy;² and those of Sir William Ashton who were excluded from Wolf's Crag and bidden to seek entertainment at the change-house of Luckie Sma'trash;³ and you have Caleb Balderstone and his much criticised light relief. The jolly troop of huntsmen who "^{execrated}executed the niggard and unworthy disposition" of Ravenswood, or rather of his deputy Balderstone, represent the English train of James VI in his state visit of 1617; the pride & poverty of Ravenswood represent the pride and poverty of the Scots in general; and spiteful English satire is converted into Scots comedy. Gentle King James lurks at every turn in the Bride, which might almost be said to belong to the century before its ostensible date. The retention in the story of the old Scottish Privy Council, which did not exist at the period of the novel - the last four or five years of Queen Anne-is thus seen to be in perfect keeping after all;

1. Secret Hist., II, 78.

2. Bride, I, 156.

3. Ibid., I, 186 ff.

it is the references to the Union and the British Parliament which are intrusive and possibly a trifle out of place. - And yet who notices this?

The archaic tendency just referred to may be found also in the last of the great "Scotch novels", Redgauntlet (1824). Sir Harry Redgauntlet, a Jacobite, "suffered" for his rebellion in 1745, and the widow became legal guardian of the children, to the exclusion of her proscribed brother-in-law, Hugh Redgauntlet, a more fanatical Jacobite than Sir Harry, although he escaped death in the rising. In spite of her legal rights, the lady stood in constant fear lest Hugh should somehow gain control of the children, and infect them with the Jacobitism which had cost her a husband; so she hid herself and them in Devonshire. Hugh followed her there, broke into the orchard¹ with a party, and succeeded in kidnapping his niece Lillias and taking her to France to be educated as a Catholic. The novel turns round his subsequent efforts to seize his nephew, Darsie, and use him (the chief of the Redgauntlet family) as a figure-head, in his plans for a Jacobite rising in 1765. - Such things undoubtedly happened.

Macfarlane has a story² about a certain young Mackintosh, who, being under age, became the ward of one Hector Mackintosh, representing his

1. Redgauntlet, II, 239.

2. Genealogical Coll., I, 220.

father's kin. The mother's family, Ogilvies, obtained control of the boy, whereupon Hector was furious and set about harrying and plundering his opponents. Hector's position closely resembles that of Redgauntlet; but a story which is true of 16th Century Scotland may be less characteristic when told of a family of rank in the South of England round about 1750. The case in 18th Century history which Scott probably had in mind shows significant differences from the case in the novel. The Duke of Perth (titular) died in 1720, and his widow immediately decamped with the young heir to France, to ensure that he would have a Catholic education. Lockhart of Carnwath, the Jacobite leader, objected to this course: "Here is a child, (the custody of whom by the present laws belongs to another [i.e. the Tutor-male]), taken or rather stolen away by his mother;" such a step "gives a handle to the Whigs to make a terrible outcry, that here is the heir of a noble family carried off from his friends, and what may they not expect and dread from the Papists."¹ Scott's adaptation of this incident seems to carry us into an older world; and yet it may never occur even to regular readers of Redgauntlet that there is anything wrong, until they are asked to suppose what Lockhart would have said about Redgauntlet's doings, in the light of his strictures upon a much less morally reprehensible proceeding.

1. Lockhart Papers, II, 42.

The backward-looking tendency in Redgauntlet, appropriate enough in a novel about the death of a cause, is emphasised by the quantity of 17th Century superstition and tradition which it incorporates. The famous Redgauntlet family feature - the horse-shoe mark on the forehead - was the witch-mark of the notorious Jean Weir, sister of Major Weir the Edinburgh warlock; this was noted a century ago by Sir Daniel Wilson,¹ The passage describing this phenomenon was quoted from Satan's Invisible World by Scott in the Somers Tracts, many years before writing Redgauntlet,² and again by Sharpe in his edition of Law's Memorialls (p.23, n).

Sharpe was entitled to claim a certain amount of credit for both the Bride and Redgauntlet; his citation from Satan's Invisible World includes the statement that Major Weir's money-bag, when put on the fire, circled and danced in it, and another "clout", when put on the fire, "circled and sparkled like gunpowder, and passing from the tunnel of the chimney, it gave a crack like a little cannon." All this is very reminiscent of the behaviour of Steenie Steenson's receipt from hell in 'Wandering Willie's Tale.' The miraculous recovery of a receipt through the agency of the powers of darkness is described by Law:³ the Laird of Bargarran was drowned in Clyde with a newly-

obtained receipt in his pocket; the granter, understanding that the

1. D. Wilson, Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh (ed. 1878), II, 95.

2. Somers, VIII, 550.

3. Memorialls, p.112.

body was lost and the receipt with it, presented his bill to the heir after a safe interval, but found himself in an embarrassing position when the corpse was discovered in a ditch, uncorrupted, with clothes, papers, and the receipt in question all as dry as a bone. (Why this good deed should be ascribed to the "^{hid}bid works of darkness" is perhaps not very evident). It was the grantor, not the grantee who died in Scott's story, thus making room for the visit to hell which constitutes one of the high-lights of literature. The source for this latter episode may be found in more than one book or pamphlet, and Sharpe may have communicated a family tradition to Scott; but the most respectable source is Wodrow, who, by the way, enlightened as he was, accorded a kind of half-belief to the superstitions he mentioned in his history. Speaking of Grierson of Lagg, a "persecutor", and an ancestor of C. K. Sharpe, Wodrow says "Dreadful were the acts of wickedness done by the soldiers at this time, and Lagg was as deep as any. They used to take to themselves in their cabals the names of Devils, and persons they supposed to be in Hell, and with whips to lash one another, as a jest upon hell."¹ - Of the minor persecutors whom Steenie saw in hell, the Lang Lad of the Nethertown² is honoured with a biographical notice in Howie's Appendix,

1. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 501.

2. Redgauntlet, I, 207; Howie, op. cit., App., p.48.

and the Deil's Rattlebag occurs in Walker's 'Life of Peden' (Ch.42)¹
 The invaluable Howie in his appendix on persecutors tells us that Sir Robert Lawrie's wine turned to blood, and John Allison's feet boiled water,² both of which phenomena are transferred to Sir Robert Redgauntlet.

But one must remember that such stories were part of a common stock. The editor of Blackader's memoirs, Crichton, wrote in 1823 (p.221): "In the cottages of Nithsdale it would still be heresy to deny that Lagg's spittle was inflammatory and that Dalzell's feet would boil water."³ Scott must have had an immense knowledge of popular superstition independently of Sharpe, Law, and the rest. Law tells us³ that "one hanged himself in the Tolbooth of Ayr with his own ribbons that tied his sleeve and was gotten hanging with his hands bound down, none being in the room but himself, which gives ground to think that the divill personally helps to that unnatural murder." This is very reminiscent of Mr. Skriegh's account in Guy Mannering of the deaths of Glossin and Hatteraick in jail; the turnkey having sworn that he had locked Glossin safely in his own cell the night before his corpse was discovered in Hatteraick's, Skriegh and his friends chose to believe that "The Enemy of Mankind brought these two wretches together

1. Biog. Presb., I, 78.
2. Howie, op. cit., App., p.35-6.
3. Memorials, 99.

upon that night by supernatural interference, that they might fill up the cup of their guilt and receive its meed, by murder and suicide."¹ Whether Scott had read Law's Memorialls in MS. before writing Guy Mannering is probably not ascertainable,² but if he had not, the comparison of these two anecdotes pays striking testimony to Scott's general authenticity in this special field.

Advancing into the early 18th Century, we find the annals of 1715 supplying matter for this novel of 1765. Peter Rae's history mentions a Provost Crosbie of Dumfries in 1714, who fought as a volunteer on the Hanoverian side in 1715. The name is borrowed in Redgauntlet, and little else. Much more important is the Earl of Mar's Journal, printed as an Appendix to Robert Patten's History of the Rebellion. A glance at this document shows that the departure of Charles Edward in 1765 is modelled upon the departure of the Old Pretender in 1716. After the Jacobite retreat from Perth, James was advised by his supporters to leave the country: "whilst he was in the kingdom, they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him or giving him up; which rather than ever consent to, they would be all to the last man cut in pieces."³ So, in the novel, Sir Richard Glendale proposed to escort Charles Edward back to his vessel, defend him with his life against all assailants, then make his

1. Guy, II, 372.

2. Guy was written 1815: "Law" published 1818.

3. Patten, Hist. of the Rebellion in ... 1715, p.205 (ed. 1745).

own peace with the ruling powers; and so did the Jacobites throw themselves around the Prince to defend him from the Hanoverian General Campbell.¹ "A small ship", says Mar, "was now pitched upon to transport him ... the Earl of Mar ... made difficulty and begged he might be left behind; but the Chevalier, being positive for his going, and telling him that in a great measure there were the same reasons for his going as for his own; that his friends would more easily get terms without him than with him and that as things now stood he could be no longer of any use to them in that country, he submitted."² In much the same way, Charles says to Redgauntlet, "The air of this country is as hostile to you as it is to me. These gentlemen have made their peace ... but you - come you, and share my home where chance shall cast it ..."³ These two accounts of the embarkation of a Stewart claimant are worth more extended comparison; the beautiful valedictory melancholy of Scott's noble conclusion owes nothing to Mar.

Redgauntlet, then, is the Earl of Mar; but perhaps he is also Murray of Broughton and McGregor of Bohaldie. - Just when Scott first read Murray of Broughton's MS. Memoirs, it is impossible to say. Charles Edward's unfortunate secretary had a grandson, W.H. Murray of the Edinburgh theatre, who was a friend of Scott's, and who certainly showed him the MS. at some time; we have already seen that Scott used

1. Redgauntlet, II, 338, 376.

2. Patten, op. cit., p.206.

3. Redgauntlet, II, 382.

it in writing *Tales of a Grandfather*,¹ but there is no proof that he had it earlier. There is a passage in the Memoirs which describes how Murray, travelling in the Highlands as a Jacobite agent, met a party of five persons on horseback. Being one against five, he proposed to pass by without taking any notice, but one of the party desired him to stop, asked who he was and where he was going.² They thought he was a Hanoverian officer, and he thought they belonged to the independent companies, but it turned out that they were all Jacobites together. This episode is mightily reminiscent of the meeting of Dalgetty in the Pass of Leny (?) with Menteith's party of three, who challenged him to declare his allegiance³ - to King or Estates. But the material is perhaps not distinctive enough to found a conviction upon, although there is nothing improbable in supposing Scott to have had access to the MS. as early as 1819, since early in that year W. Murray was staging a highly successful dramatisation of "Rob Roy."⁴ At any rate, Murray's account of his life as a Jacobite agent before 1745 seems to be the nearest thing available in the records to the account of Redgauntlet's endless and tireless intrigues on behalf of the Stewarts after 1745. The resemblance, however, is quite general. The one particular detail

1. 3rd Series, 1829.

2. Memoirs, (S.H.S. ed.), 164-5.

3. Legend, 43 ff.

4. Lockhart, III, 254.

which corresponds to something in the novel concerns not Murray himself but McGregor of Bohaldie, who, according to Murray, kept lists of people who had at any time dropped expressions favourable to "the cause", and reported them to the French court as so many sure cards; Sir Alexander McDonald of Slate discovered that he was on the list and angrily denied that McGregor had even spoken to him on the subject.¹ Redgauntlet also kept a list; "it seemed as if some rash plotter had put down at a venture the names of all whom common report tainted with Jacobitism."² The list included the name of his nephew, who hoped, for their sakes, that the other people in it had more acquaintance with the Jacobite plot than he had been indulged with.

Modern Glasgow supplies a little point: the Dumfriezers, according to Latimer,³ justify Bruce's slaughter of the Comyn in their kirk by "observing it was only a Papist church" - Sir John Dalrymple attributes this remark to the tender conscience of would-be Glasgow privateers in Spanish America (during the American War: 1779), justifying their plundering of churches.⁴

From what might be called the lesser Scots novels - Black Dwarf, St. Ronan's Well, and Chronicles of the Canongate - there is nothing

1. Murray's Memoirs, 31.

2. Redgauntlet, II, 275.

3. Redgauntlet, I, 52.

4. Dalrymple, op. cit., Part 4, App., Page 23 (1788).

to hand for the present purpose except in the case of The Highland Widow, one of the "Canongate" stories (1827). Elspat MacTavish drugged her soldier-son Hamish, to make it impossible for him to rejoin his unit before the expiry of his embarkation leave; she relied upon his Highland horror of the corporal punishment which must follow, to make him desert what she regarded as a disgraceful engagement. Stewart of Garth, whose Sketches appeared in 1822, speaks very frequently of the shame associated with corporal punishment in the Highland mind.¹ According to Garth, a number of Highlanders deserted the colours at London in 1743, in consequence of which crime three deserters were shot at the Tower, as an example to the remainder, who were paraded to witness the execution. "Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and namesakes, and buried in one grave near the place of execution."² Similarly, Hamish was shot kneeling on his own coffin, in presence of the regiment, and was then placed in the coffin and buried in Dumbarton Churchyard by a party from his own company. - One can hardly imagine Scott depicting Garth's story in its authentic form. Hamish died partly because of the failure of his General to understand the Highland mind;³ Garth blames such failures for most of the trouble with Highland soldiers.

1. See, e.g., op. cit., I, 275, 292, 394.

2. Op. cit., I, 261.

3. Highland Widow, 274.

The Fortunes of Nigel (1822) may be described as a semi-Scotch novel, since the best part of it is supplied by the Scotch humourists King James, Sir Mungo Malagrowth, and Richie Moniplies, the rest being English Jacobean. (Sir Mungo Murray was, in real life, whipping-boy to King Charles I, as the fictitious Sir Mungo was to King James).¹ Many of the details in Scott's picture of King James are to be found in the sources; for example, the King's lecture to his courtiers at Whitehall² on the superiority of the Scottish pronunciation of Latin is based on a speech he made at Stirling in 1617, reported in Thomas Crawford's History of the University of Edinburgh.³ Scott himself gives most of the rest in the notes. Readers of the Secret History, Somers Tracts, and other contemporary matter, will be struck by the fact that, in spite of the verisimilitude of detail, the essential King James of Scott is but faintly shadowed by the historians.

Three of the Waverley novels deal with Scotland before the 17th Century⁴ - The Monastery (1820), The Abbot (1820), and The Fair Maid of Perth (1828). The chief point of interest about these is that the dialogue, apart from a slight sprinkling of Scots in one or two minor characters, nearly all women, is couched in that standard

1. See 'Account of the Earl of Glencairn's Expedition' in Gwynne, Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War (ed. Scott, 1822).

2. Fortunes, I, 222.

3. Ed. 1808, p.86.

4. Four if you count Castle Dangerous.

English, sprinkled more or less freely with archaic usages, words, and phrases, redolent of Shakespeare, which invariably does duty in Scott's novels, whether their scene be laid in Scotland, England, or Europe, whenever the period takes us back beyond 1600. He obviously felt that the Scots tongue of his own day had associations for his readers, as well as for himself, which made it unsuitable as the vehicle for 16th Century dialogue; associations of the kind which made a golf-club an incongruous appendage to a Border ^{river} review, however authentic. By 1800, Scots was the language of peasants, old ladies, humourists, and eccentrics; appropriate to King James, but not his mother. The abandonment of Scots in these novels is therefore in keeping with Scott's views on the problem of reconciling historical authenticity with the requirements of fiction; it is also a tribute to the Elizabethan literature, whose language could be accepted as imparting a suitable atmosphere even to a novel about 15th Century Scotland. (This question is touched upon by the author in the Introduction to the Fair Maid;¹ but, having explained that mediaeval Scots is out of the question as a medium, he makes no attempt to justify what he has put in its place.)

Apart from this very important general point, there is little to hand for the present purpose in these, as one might say, sub-Scottish

1. Fair Maid, I, 26.

novels. The Abbot, however, offers an exquisite specimen of Scott's work. Laing¹ prints documents describing how Queen Mary, imprisoned in Edinburgh after Carbery Hill, looked out of the window and saw the celebrated banner showing her murdered husband, and her son praying for the punishment of the guilty; she fell into delirious agony, tore her clothes, and regardless of her half-naked condition, made an attempt to address the people. The delirious agony sets in at Lochleven in the novel,² brought on by an incautious reference of Lady Fleming to the marriage of Sebastian at Holyrood, on the night Darnley was murdered; but it runs its course in the decorous seclusion of the Queen's apartment. Later on, after the escape from Lochleven, Mary looks out of the window at Niddrie Castle, sees the army of her followers in the park below, and, forgetting the lightness of her attire - she has just risen from bed - opens the window to acknowledge the loyal shouts of the troops. Recollection drives her from the window with a blush, not, however, before the troops have been inspired, not merely by the Queen's condescension, but by "the unadorned beauties of the lovely woman."³ This is Scott's most perfectly delightful adaptation from history.

1. Hist. of Scotland, ed. 1804, II; Appendix, p.106.

2. Abbot, II, 206 ff.

3. Abbot, II, 304-5.

The Abbot also shows what can be done by the pleasant chime of an old-fashioned phrase. Dryfesdale, the Steward of Lochleven, laced the Queen's jar of succory-water with what he thought was poison.¹ Burnet, echoed by Sharpe in his "Kirkton",² states that the Duchess of Orleans was poisoned in 1671 by means of a glass of succory-water. This hint, together with the assertion of Mary in one of her letters that there was a plot to stab her to death in Lochleven,³ is developed into a whole episode in the fiction.

Two novels in the series might be described as "crypto-Scottish"; Anne of Geierstein (1829), because it is really a variation on the Scottish and Jacobite themes, with Switzerland representing Scotland and Margaret of Anjou the Stewarts; and Quentin Durward (1823), not merely on account of the Scottish hero and the French King's Scots Guard, but because the story has an interesting basis in Scottish family history. While writing this novel, Scott wrote to Constable: "Books of history help me little except Commynes;"⁴ the observer is therefore prepared to find the detail of Quentin Durward in unexpected places. In the Memorie of the Somervilles, edited by Scott in 1815, it is related how a James Somerville of Drum went to France early in the 17th Century, with a letter to his uncle, Sir John

1. Abbot, II, 215.

2. p.310 n.

3. See Abbot, Scott's notes, II, 362.

4. Letters, VII, 283.

Seaton, a captain in the French King's regiment of Guards. Sir John promised to enlist him in his own company.¹ This is exactly what happened to Quentin in the novel. The name of his uncle, Ludovic Leslie (Le Balafre) occurs in the Memorie² as that of a friend with whom Somerville visited Italy. ("Old Sir Ludovick Leslie" is also named by Dugald Dalgetty³). - Quentin came from Glenhoulakin, the Glen of the Midges; and one may wonder where Scott learned this bit of Gaelic. The answer seems to be that he read it in Burt's Letters (Letter XXVI), where the author expatiates on the midge nuisance in the Highlands. Burt's spelling of the Gaelic word is the same as Scott's, and one feels more and more that Scott must have been quite deeply indebted to this obscure English official for knowledge of the Highlands. - Quentin's designation on the Continent, however, was "the varlet with the Velvet Pouch";⁴ "Sir John with the red bag" is mentioned in Somerville,⁵ and in both cases the bag or pouch was for hawk's meat.

In The Pirate (1821), we have the unique case of what might be called an "anti-Scotch" novel; one in which the Scots play the role of the intrusive Southron, while the Shetlander assumes the customary Scottish rôle of underdog. As the author admits that his account of

1. Op. cit., II, 148.

2. Ibid., II, 170.

3. Legend, 51.

4. Quentin, I, 77.

5. I, 305.

Shetland society about 1720 is largely imaginary,¹ one may expect again to find the detail of the fiction in odd sources; but nothing is yet available, apart from one point which vindicates Scott. Triptolemus Yellowley, the agricultural reformer from the Mearns, has been censured as an anachronism by Andrew Lang;² but Lang is wrong here. Yellowley is nowhere represented as a spear-head of the Agricultural Revolution; all he wants to do is to substitute mainland methods, such as they are, for the even more primitive techniques of the islands.³ Yellowley relates how he tried to introduce apiculture into Orkney, but failed because the Orcadian in charge of the bees stopped up the hives to prevent the insects from escaping. Macfarlane's Geographical Collections⁴ report that a lady from Angus (close enough to the Mearns), took a skep of bees to Orkney as a novelty in the late 17th Century, and lost them exactly in the manner described by Yellowley. Clearly Scott had read this.

Scott wrote four English novels: Kenilworth (1821), Fortunes of Nigel (1822: semi-English for the present purpose), Woodstock (1826), and Peveril of the Peak (1823). The outstanding feature of these novels is the relatively consistent and narrow "period" authenticity which puts them (in this respect only) on a par with "Old Mortality."

1. Pirate, I, 6.
2. Pirate, Border Ed., Editor's Intro.
3. Pirate, I, 78-9, 207-9.
4. III, 6 (S.H.S. ed.).

However freely factual detail may be handled, borrowing from other periods seems to be at a minimum. The reason seems to be literary. Just as Old Mortality has Covenanted writings of literary merit to draw upon, so these "English" books have a rich background, not only of historical works, full of biographical detail, but also of the imaginative literature of the Elizabethan, Restoration, and Augustan periods. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the depth of Scott's familiarity with this literature, which may be estimated by the frequency of his unconscious quotations from it, and especially from Shakespeare.

In Kenilworth we have a certain amount of material from the foothills of history. - There is the pageantry at Kenilworth. There is the affair of Leicester's marriage, which Scott knew about through his work on the Somers Tracts. But even here there is a strong literary background, because Scott's original acquaintance with the story of Amy Robsart was made through a ballad, "Cumnor Hall". There is an intolerable deal of Gloriana folk-lore, including some quite minute detail from historical writers - Leicester's public rebuke from Elizabeth for pushing past the usher into her presence is in Naunton;¹ and even a passing remark like Sussex's "Were war at the gates I should

1. Scott's ed., 179; Kenilworth, I, 312.

be one of her white boys," proves to be a quotation from Naunton's account of Sir John Perrot.¹ Yet even in these court scenes, Scott's debt for atmosphere to the literary sources is again quite obvious: Shakespeare's miraculous passage about the "fair vestal throned by the west" is actually embodied in the novel as one of Raleigh's flatteries, additional to the well-known stories in Fuller's Worthies. This Shakespearean element is at its best in the more unobtrusive passages; those who do not care for Varney as another Iago will hardly fail to appreciate Giles Gosling's tapster-boy² - another Falstaff's Page; or the citizens of Woodstock - Shakespearean artificers every man.³ Purely literary sources are found contributing to other novels of Scott, but in Kenilworth they seem almost to push history aside. We know, of course, that Scott valued the fiction of a past age as evidence for its ways of life and thought; when a body of literature like the Elizabethan was available - exceptional both in quality and quantity - he hardly needed to look any further.

The same may be said with even more truth of the English part of Nigel. There are contacts with history, certainly - Buckingham's declaration to Glenvarloch, "You know me, my lord, for your enemy", was actually made by him to Olivarez in Madrid⁴ - yet admirers of this

1. Scott's ed., 246; Kenilworth, I, 307.

2. Kenilworth, II, 9-10.

3. Ibid., I, 157.

4. according to Hume, History, VI, 136, ^{(ed. 1812),} quoting Rushworth.

book have always seen in it a glorious re-creation of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, with the necessary difference entailed by Scott's position in time. Although it has several historical characters, the plot of Nigel contains less historical incident than Kenilworth - in fact, it has none at all, so that the dramatists have things all their own way.

Political history returns to the throne in Woodstock and Peveril; no-one has ever regarded Peveril as a re-creation of the Restoration Drama; but the historical record remains so full and, in especial, so well supplemented by the literature of political satire, that there is little need to pillage other periods. In Woodstock, Charles II is supposed to be pursued after Worcester by Cromwell in person; these two therefore are the chief historical characters, and it is curious to observe how differently they are handled. Charles II resembles some other great characters in Scott in that his outline is visibly taken from the historical accounts, but he develops so much in the novelist's hands that he seems to become independent. Rather different is the case of Cromwell. Ask any reader of Woodstock which feature of Cromwell struck him most in the book, and he will probably mention Oliver's habit of deliberately concealing his meaning under mountains of verbiage. This trait, which Scott develops at length and with much skill, appears to be taken from the account of Cromwell in Hume,¹ 1. Hume, History, VII, 273.

who quotes from one of his speeches. In fact, Scott introduces Cromwell with the words "It has been long since said by the historian, that a collection of the Protector's speeches would make, with a few exceptions, the most nonsensical book in the world."¹ This historian is Hume - a hostile source. One can therefore understand why Cromwell, in spite of Scott's sympathetic treatment, remains essentially an outsider, or what small boys at play in Scotland call a "baddy", whereas Charles and his supporters constitute the interior circle of "goodies." - But further discussion of this point really belongs to Section 4 below.

Peveril is Scott's second-greatest disappointment after Napoleon. The man who had edited Somers, Dryden, and Swift, was qualified above all others to write a great novel about the Popish Plot period. The scene of such a book must be London; yet with sad and perverse provinciality Scott lingers in Derbyshire and the Isle of Man till more than half-way through. In Waverley, the hero's departure to Scotland is delayed for only seven chapters, and these chapters have a high biographical interest for Scott students; but in Peveril, the real beginning of the novel is delayed for twenty-seven chapters, and these do not offer much of biographical or any other kind of interest. Apart from the picaresque episode of the

1. Woodstock, I, 203.

hero's journey from Liverpool to London, these chapters recall the judgement of the critic who condemned most of Nicholas Nickleby as "totally unobserved." The theory that Scott in his dull passages was out of touch with his life-giving sources - historical or other - is, to say the least, an attractive one.

The London scenes, however - in spite of the conventional Fenella (she loved the hero in secret and in vain), and the dwarf Sir Geoffrey Hudson, whose treatment jars upon the reader like nothing else in Scott - the London scenes make the unconscionably diffuse prolegomena worth skimming through. Historical interest revives among other things, and we find the atmosphere of the Dryden and the Somers at last beginning to pervade the action. The value of Roger North's Examen is freely admitted by Scott himself in his notes to Peveril, and in addition we find him quoting from the Examen in his Dryden,¹ specimens of Titus Oates' peculiar English pronunciation. When Buckingham tells Christian he is the most barefaced villain who ever breathed, and Christian replies "Of a commoner, I may [be],"² he echoes Shaftesbury's famous answer to Charles II's charge that he was the most unprincipled man in England: "Of a subject I may be." When Charles II requests Buckingham to respect the decencies of his private life, and Buckingham asks what decencies are these, Scott

1. Dryden, IX, 284; Peveril, III, 199.

2. Peveril, III, 337.

reproduces a passage in Burnet, with Swift's clever marginal query.

(Swift's marginalia on Burnet are in Scott's Swift).¹

The most interesting point to emerge from Peveril concerns a long passage near the end,² Charles II got wind of Buckingham's plan for a coup d'état, which included the introduction of armed desperadoes into the palace disguised as musicians, under the leadership of the notorious Thomas Blood. The King's investigation was protracted and full of insident, but in the end he publicly accepted Buckingham's innocence as proved. Then, detaining him out of earshot of the other courtiers, the King said "When was it, George, that your useful friend Colonel Blood became a musician?" Buckingham, realising that the King had recognised Blood and knew all, confessed and was forgiven, his guilt being kept secret. - According to Dalrymple's Memoirs,³ William III suspected his minister Lord Shrewsbury of tampering with the Jacobite party; an interview between the two is described. "William asked Lord Shrewsbury ... why he had quitted his service? Shrewsbury answered ... The King, looking steadfastly upon him, said, 'My Lord, have you no other reason?' The other answered 'he had not.' William then asked 'when he had last seen Sir James Montgomery?' Shrewsbury faltered, but recovering

1. Swift, X, 266.

2. Peveril, Ch. 48, 49.

3. Year 1692.

himself said 'he could not help seeing people who called at his door, but that his principles were loyal.' 'I know you to be a man of honour,' replied the King, 'and will believe what you say. But remember what you have said and that I trust to it.' And without waiting for an answer quitted the room." This adaptation of material from the life of William of Orange to supply details for the story of a Stewart King, may tend to show how insignificant in the eyes of a great artist are the objects of party strife among lesser men.

Although several of the foregoing points involve Buckingham, one can hardly doubt that he is essentially a development of Dryden's Zimri, and therefore a literary inspiration, like so much else in this group of novels.

The tale is completed by the Crusading Novels - Ivanhoe (1819), The Betrothed, and The Talisman (1825).¹ The disarming frankness of Scott in the matter of his difficulties with the Crusading period saves us the trouble of detecting him in the pillage of Froissart and other historians who flourished in the 14th and 15th Centuries. Here is one minute example, Lord Hailes quotes from Fordun the preliminary defiance of a 14th Century Scots warrior about to enter the lists against an English knight: "Prepare for death and confess
1. Also, no doubt, Count Robert of Paris, 1831.

yourself, and then you shall sup in Paradise"¹ So Bois-Guilbert to the Disinherited Knight in Ivanhoe: "This night thou shalt sleep in Paradise."² - Again, the folk-lore characters of Robin Hood, Friar Tuck, and King Richard must, for the most part, reflect the ideas of a later age. And again, the quasi-Elizabethan language of the dialogue is of course quite as unauthentic here as in the "sub-Scottish" novels. If, then, historical authenticity is virtually thrown to the winds, we may expect to find details of these Crusading novels in strange places; and we are not altogether disappointed.

No-one reads The Betrothed, apparently, and one cannot be altogether surprised. Even Andrew Lang read it for the first time when he had to provide an introduction for it in the Border Edition. It is interesting technically, however, as a case where Scott attempted a task which was simply too much for him; not only is the novel set in the period of the Third Crusade, but it is located on the Welsh March, thus introducing a country and people of whom Scott knew practically nothing. In these circumstances we cannot be surprised to find him falling back on Scottish history. Wilkin Flammock is the leader of a group of Flemish colonists on the March, who find themselves

1. Hailes Annals, II, 272; also in Grandfather, I, 219.

2. Ivanhoe, I, 164.

entrusted with the defence of the Garde Douloureuse, a great March fortress, against the mountaineers. Much is made of Flammock's skill in erecting and operating a mangonel, or machine for casting stones on the besiegers.¹ Now, in 1319 the English besieged Berwick, and "John Crab, a Fleming ... constructed a moveable crane whereby stones ... might be ... let fall upon the enemy." This passage is in Hailes,² and is recalled by Scott in his "Lardner" History;³ and he had already quoted the original passage from Barbour in the Minstrelsy (I, 332).

Sir Ralph Sadler relates⁴ how Queen Mary, a prisoner at Tutbury, begged to be allowed to accompany him when he went out hawking; to the annoyance of Elizabeth, he permitted Mary to go with him several times under guard to see his hawks fly upon the rivers in the neighbourhood of the castle. Similarly, Eveline Beranger, a virtual prisoner in her castle on account of danger from the Welsh mountaineers, accepts with incautious eagerness a proposal to go out hawking along the river, and in consequence falls into great peril.⁵

Matter from Queen Mary's time can be detected in Ivanhoe. The roasting of Isaac the Jew is acknowledged by Scott himself as a borrowing from this period;⁶ and Rebecca the Jewess, repelling the guards at her

1. Betrothed, 137 ff.

2. Annals, II, 90.

3. "Lardner" History, I, 135.

4. Quoted in Scott's Sadler Memoir, 126.

5. Betrothed, 384 ff.

6. Ivanhoe, I, 384.

trial with the words "It suits not a maiden to be disrobed by such rude grooms", echoes the well-known speech attributed to Queen Mary in the accounts of her execution.

All these points illustrate Scott's commonsense principle that there is much in the life of any age which is perfectly appropriate to the life of other periods.

Scott's very free handling of his historical material, which we have now illustrated at considerable length, is paralleled by a similar freedom with geography. Just as the past is but vaguely known to most readers, he might argue, so the geography of any given area is but vaguely known to most people, even to those who live in or near it. The scene of The Antiquary is supposed to be the neighbourhood of a town on the North-East Coast of Scotland, generally identified as Dundee; but the fisher-folk in the novel are almost certainly drawn from Newhaven-on-Forth. When Maggie Mucklebackit speaks of the coble "jowin' awa' in the Firth", she can hardly mean the narrow Tay Firth; (but the Moray Firth is a possibility.) In the famous storm scene,¹ the sea-fowl are said to have been alarmed by the "sound of human voices, where they had seldom been heard"² - a strange statement to make about the shore within a mile or two of a town like

1. Antiquary Ch. 7.

2. Ibid., I, 125.

Dundee; but discrepancies disappear when it is realised that Scott was thinking about his tour in the lighthouse yacht round the shores of Scotland in 1814, his journal of which mentions several things in common with the Antiquary storm scene: [Francie o'] Fowlsheugh (Antiquary, I, 122, Lockhart, II, 340-1); the Dunbuy of Slaines (ibid.); a flimsy device for transporting persons or animals among the Shetland cliffs, (Antiquary, I, 126 ff: Lockhart, II, 351) - all these show quite clearly that in composing his storm scene Scott was ranging over his experiences at sea. When at Cape Wrath, he noted that the birds seemed to be little disturbed, as they showed no great alarm¹ at the sight of men. All this suggests an explanation for Scott's celebrated blunder in The Antiquary, in making the sun set in the North Sea. He could see ocean sunsets on his lighthouse voyage.

Similarly, in The Heart of Midlothian, Scott took the liberty of moving St. Leonard's Crag some considerable distance further from the High Street than they really are; in fact, the Deanses might well have been left at Woodend, near Dalkeith. As things are, Effie Deans could have gone home for dinner every day from Mrs. Saddletree's shop, and the concealment of her "situation" from her sister would have been impossible. The site of the murderer Nichol Mus^{ch}at's Cairn, where

1. Lockhart, II, 410-11.

Jeanie Deans was to meet Robertson, was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Duke's Walk behind Holyrood; but Scott moves it to the foot of the spur on which St. Anthony's Chapel stands, ignoring St. Anthony's Well, which actually is thereby, but whose associations were presumably not gruesome enough for a tale of nocturnal terror. Further, the spot has, like St. Leonard's, been removed to some distance from the town; for, as things are, no policeman of Edinburgh, however superstitious, could ever need any guide from the High Street to St. Anthony's Well, far less a guide like the loquacious madwoman Madge Wildfire.

A pleasantly characteristic case occurs in Rob Roy. The little force which captured Rob lay, we are told, at Aberfoyle, on the north side of the Forth,¹ and was ordered to cross the river, some to Gartartan, some to Duchray.² Ignoring the stone bridge which - according to Frank Osbaldistone, at least - crossed the Forth half a mile from the clachan, and ignoring the ford at Gartartan, which certainly existed at the time,³ the troops rode down the valley about ten miles, to cross the Forth at the Fords of Frew,⁴ near Kippen.

Scott obviously gave them this long detour for nothing on account

1. Rob Roy, II, 252, 266.

2. Ibid., II, 263.

3. Macfarlane's Geog. Collections, I, 341.

4. Rob Roy, II, 274.

of the historical associations of the Fords of Frew; the Jacobite army crossed the river here in 1745¹, both advancing and retiring; and in 1715, according to Sinclair,² the Fords of Forth were turned into a death-trap by Argyle, who floored the river-bed with beams carrying pikes. In any case, says Sinclair, the Fords were known only to Rob Roy, whom the Jacobite leaders did not trust. The name Fords of Frew thus becomes a means of creating a hazy atmosphere of authenticity in the novel.

These things may, on the other hand, explain why Scott never liked to be tied down by the acceptance of geographical identifications in his novels.³ If the novelist uses fictitious place-names, firmly dissociated from all real localities, he is safe from the critiques of persons who read his novel map in hand.

When all is said and done, every historical novel by Scott is bound to contain a great deal drawn from his personal life and observation - the entire stock-in-trade of most novelists, and the foundation for the work of all novelists whatever. It would not be appropriate to illustrate this proposition at length in a historical study, but the point needs to be established in order to complete the picture of the Waverley novels as a historical pot-pourri. For this purpose, some illustrations of exceptional interest now follow.

1. Home, History of the Rebellion of 1745 (1802), p.74.

2. Memoirs, 201.

3. Letters, XI, 223, 331; Bride, I, 15; Monastery, I, 5; Canongate, 19.

Although Scott's debt to outsiders like Burt for knowledge of the Highlands is probably much greater than the naïve reader would ever think possible, we are not to suppose that he had none of his own. Rose Bradwardine¹ tells how three Highlanders, killed at Tully-veolan in a skirmish, were laid out on the floor of the hall until their wives came, cried the coronach, and took away the corpses. For weeks after, she heard the cries, and saw the bodies lying stiff and swathed up in their bloody tartans. This is a personal reminiscence; Scott told Maria Edgeworth² how, as a High School boy, he had been admitted for a penny to view the corpses of some Highlanders killed in a mutiny at Leith Pier, and for ten days saw nothing but these bodies lying stiff and stark, wrapped in their plaids.

Two incidents in Ivanhoe have been censured as improbable - the resurrection of Athelstane, and the death of Bois-Guilbert, who, after easily unhorsing the sick Wilfred of Ivanhoe, falls to the ground himself and is found to have died "a victim to the violence of his own contending passions."³ Scott himself came to regard the Athelstane incident as a "botch",⁴ but it would not occur to him to repent in the case of Bois-Guilbert, since the mishap in question befell a neighbour of his own, one Lauchie Lochbreist. This man's brother and

1. Waverley, I, 239.
2. Letters, XI, 378-9.
3. Ivanhoe, II, 377.
4. Letters, XII, 458.

sister went to his house and told him, in the course of an unpleasant family wrangle, that his wife was no better than she should be. The husband, after answering with deep emotion that if she were the greatest whore in Edinburgh it was none of their business, fell down dead on the spot: "the contending passions of shame and anger and sorrow fairly burst the flood-gates of life."¹ The incident was spoken of by Scott in letters of September 1819, and Ivanhoe came out in December. Thus Scott could transfer what happened to the man next-door, as it were, to a 12th Century knight, altering the contending passions to love for Rebecca, hatred of Ivanhoe, and ambition.

There seems to be only one character in the novels who clearly represents Scott himself, and that is the Edward Waverley of the early chapters of the novel, whose education and reading are Scott's own. These chapters might be explained as a false start. Perhaps it is no accident that Scott abandoned this novel for some years after writing them. The man who gave up poetry, wrote novels anonymously, shrank from intimate love-scenes, and criticised Byron for wearing his heart too openly on his sleeve² - such a man could never be expected to bare his soul in fiction, and Waverley may well have been suspended because the author could go no further, irrespective of the approval or

1. Letters, V, 498, 501.

2. Letters, VI, 506.

disapproval of friends. It is true that Scott never cancelled the chapters; but cancellation was a thing that wrung his withers very painfully at all times. After Waverley has shown his mediocrity in the dry, mathematical work of an army officer¹ - Scott confessed his own inaptitude for this in a private letter of 1813² - he goes off on leave to Tully-Veolan and we hear little more about the original theme: the Evils of a Defective Education.

But the most reticent artist cannot altogether conceal his soul, although he may lay false trails. James Hogg thought that Guy Mannering was Walter Scott; but then Guy is not really a historical novel. A more interesting, if more speculative, case occurs in The Highland Widow (1826). Elspat MacTavish was a dreamer, out of touch with reality, and living in the past; she regarded her son's enlistment in one of the new Highland regiments as a disgrace to a free-born bandit, and her attempt to make him desert resulted in his death in front of a firing-squad. Scott himself, was, in one aspect of his personality, a dreamer, living in an ideal world,³ as a result of which defect, perhaps, he brought about, not the death, but the threatened ruin of his children through the financial disaster of January 1826. (The Highland Widow was written in the summer of 1826).

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1. Waverley, I, 154.
 2. Letters, III, 351.
 3. Journal, 58.

Scott was always very anxious about the future of his family, and states several times that he worked to pay off his debt in full, mainly for their sake.¹ In the case of his unmarried daughter Anne, the loss was more than financial, since her matrimonial prospects were obviously injured - Lockhart hints at this, perhaps, when he speaks of her "loss of fortune and disappointments of various sorts connected with that."² A psychologist of the more startling school might maintain that, seeing Elspat as the murderess of her son, Scott was seeing himself as the murderer of grandsons. It is quite certain that the pseudo-Gaelic speech of Elspat is much more tortured and unnatural than similar matter in any other novel, and it might quite possibly reflect an exceptional irritation in Scott's mind.

A good occupation for a rainy day is to count the number of cases in the novels where the gentleman assists his beloved in her studies; this is a recurring feature in the heroes and heroines, whether they belong to Scott's own generation or to the Middle Ages, and it must originate in his own love-affair with Miss Belsches, who, according to Lockhart, had literary interests.³ Possibly the most interesting case is that of Amy Robsart, who rebelled against Tressilian's educational courtship,⁴ and married someone else - like

1. Journal, 176, 623; Letters, XI, 30, 450; See Also Letters, VIII, 488.

2. Lockhart, V, 451.

3. Lockhart, I, 205.

4. Kenilworth, II, 42, 46, 142.

Miss Belsches. Incidentally, Amy came to a tragic end, like Eveline Neville, who rejected Oldbuck to marry the heir of an earldom, and was in consequence driven to despair and suicide. If there is a sub-conscious serves-you-right element in this, it has probably no foundation in reality, since Miss Belsches married a man who was a good friend of Scott's, Sir William Forbes the banker.¹ - Towards the end of 1827, when Miss Belsches had been long dead, Scott renewed his acquaintance with her mother, Lady Jane Stuart, and was deeply affected by this resurrection of his youthful trial:² at precisely the same time, he began The Fair Maid of Perth, whose hero, Henry Gow, living about 1400, displays an absurd lack of savoir faire when making a Valentine visit to his fair one. His gaucherie resembles that of Oldbuck in his shy youth,³ and one can have little doubt that there is an autobiographical foundation for these features in the novels.

It has already been suggested above that Rob Roy, whose plot turns on bills of exchange, was an epilogue to four years of financial stress and strain in Scott's own affairs. - It has also been remarked above, more than once, that the historical record contains no more than hints or outlines for his great characters; a person like Scott's King James almost certainly owes more to living

1. See Journal, 81-2.
2. Journal, 427.
3. Antiquary, II, 178.

humourists of Scott's acquaintance than to history. - Finally, the feelings and opinions of the characters must often owe more to the author than to any historical prototype - see, for example, the meditations of Henry Morton on the political and religious situation in his day.¹ Every novel of Scott's obviously has a strong infusion of Regency life and thought which renders period authenticity quite impossible. - Further remarks on Scott's own attitudes as displayed in the novels are reserved for section 4 below.

Section 3: Alterations to historical fact in the Waverley novels: a caution.

Liberties with history in the narrow sense are much more obvious to criticism than the kind of thing which has been discussed in the foregoing section, and yet, as everyone knows, they are of very frequent occurrence in the Waverley novels. Scott himself, introducing Castle Dangerous, remarks that considerable liberties have been taken with history, and proceeds to give a summary of the accepted facts about the period concerned; this practice might well be extended by students of Scott to the other novels, but the proper place to do so would be in the pages of a new, critical edition. Here, only a few cases of special interest can be treated.

1. See, e.g., Old Mortality, I, 108.

The question of the survival of the Scottish Privy Council in the Bride has already been touched upon. The action of that novel is limited to the year 1710, and a short period before and after it; this date is forced upon us by the great change of ministry from Whig to Tory, which in the novel brings Ravenswood's kinsman the Marquis of A - into power, and which in fact occurred in 1710. Any previous change of ministry is ruled out of consideration by the fact that the action occurs wholly in the post-Union period; we see Sir William Ashton, from the very beginning, apprehensive about an appeal to the House of Lords which might force him to disgorge some of the Ravenswood property.¹ A minor but very delightful feature of the novel is provided by the scenes in the Scottish Privy Council, which in reality was abolished in 1708. The anachronism is chronologically slight, but is very glaring none the less. It could be justified simply by the humours of Lords Turntippet, Hirplehooly, and the rest, but the deeper justification lies in the fact that the atmosphere of the Bride is far from Augustan; that much of its material is derived from an earlier period; and that therefore there is a psychological appropriateness in the retention of the old Privy Council.

1. Bride, I, 253.

Much was made at one time of Scott's great anachronism in Ivanhoe, where the Anglo-Saxons are represented as still surviving into Richard's day as a separate people, with aspirations for the re-establishment of the old native line of Kings. Now there can be no question of Scott's having written in ignorance of historical opinion; he must have known that Hume's history maintains that by 1189 the Normans were entirely incorporated with the people.¹ Scott chose to adhere to a somewhat different view, in order to obtain the contrast of Norman and Saxon; and yet he did so with discretion, representing Cedric and his friends as merely the lingering remnant of a party, whereas John Logan paraded a high-spirited Anglo-Saxon nobility at Runnymede. It is the discretion rather than the liberty in Scott's book which deserves emphasis; and that it is wrong to speak, as Freeman did, of Scott's "blunders."² Blundering is ignorant, but Scott's knowledge was encyclopaedic.

In Old Mortality, Scott represents the two conflicting factions among the rebel Covenanters of 1679 as Anti-Indulgence and Pro-Indulgence, the Anti-Indulgence party of fanatics being the more vigorous, and the more troublesome to the common cause. It is generally accepted that the "Indulged" people were not "out" in 1679; that the

1. Hume, History, I, 466.

2. Norman Conquest (ed. 1867), V, 839, and Index, "Ivanhoe."

contending factions were those of extremists and moderates in a uniformly Anti-Indulgence assemblage; and that the moderates, not the extremists, showed the greater vigour. Scott's alteration to this scheme must certainly have been prompted by the wish to obtain a simpler situation and a brighter contrast; yet his introduction of "Indulged" people into the army and the councils of the insurgents is not quite without historical justification. Wodrow says that the moderates hoped the Indulged would join;¹ and James Russell has the words "hearing that Mr. Welsh was joining with all sort of indulged folk ..."² The phrase "indulged folk" may be no more than a term of abuse, but for all that we do seem to have a certain basis here, though flimsy. The attribution of superior activity to the fanatical group appears to be definitely wrong, yet Scott's procedure can be justified on grounds of natural probability: extremists can often seize the initiative, and in the present case the facts seem stranger than the fiction.

It has already been remarked that Triptolemus Yellowley is less of an anachronism than he looks: the introduction of novelties in husbandry from the mainland of Scotland to Orkney was not unknown in the 17th Century, and this is enough to give Triptolemus a certain authenticity.

1. Wodrow, op. cit., II, 55-7.

2. Kirkton, op. cit., p.453.

We know that Scott defended his anachronisms on the ground that everything is justified provided the result be interesting, plausible, and inoffensive; but the points just discussed seem to show that his liberties may often be capable of a subtle historical justification as well; they are the work of a man who really knew his material, and are worthy of close inspection before being classed as artistic licence pure and simple.

Regard for the susceptibilities of his readers forced upon Scott a type of historical distortion which has not yet been mentioned. He wrote for the world of Jane Austen, and Jane regarded the Spectator as "coarse";¹ the Rabelaisian element in literature was therefore suppressed long before the days of Queen Victoria. People who read The Fortunes of Nigel in youth, and then in later life meet with the scandalous suspicions attaching to Gentle King James in respect of his moral character, may think that Scott displayed his ignorance and innocence both, in representing a disgusting profligate as a "Scotch comic." In fact, Scott was perfectly familiar with the gossip of Jacobean London, having met it and used it in connection with the Somers Tracts and the Secret History; nay, he actually believed some of it; yet he could never contemplate giving his public anything in the style of I, Claudius.

1. Northanger Abbey, Ch. 5, last paragraph.

One cannot doubt that these scruples must frequently produce falsification of history; yet there are occasions when he indicates the missing element by a turn of the brush, as when he suggests that some of the troops in the Jacobite army were late for parade the morning before Prestonpans on account of "the fascinations of the Circes of the High Street."¹ Perhaps the dignity of history should not be asked to tolerate any more than this.

The very free and fluid treatment of historical material in the Waverley novels; the dependence of "period" authenticity upon the existence of a plentiful imaginative literature from the period concerned; the importance of English history and historians, even for the Scotch novels; and the importance of Scott's personal experience even in novels whose period is remote from his own - these propositions, it is hoped, have been suitably illustrated in this section and the previous one. - Before the subject of Scott's attitudes to history, as displayed in the novels, is entered upon, something should be said on the question of Scott's success or failure in his attempt to achieve historical plausibility in his fiction.

Something, but not very much; since opinion on this point must vary a good deal from individual to individual, from social group to

1. Waverley, II, 141.

group, and from age to age, C. K. Sharpe supposed, and doubtless with good reason, that Sir Robert Redgauntlet represented his own ancestor, Grierson of Lagg, and wrote, à propos of the horse-shoe witchmark which distinguished Major Weir's sister: "Sir Walter Scott has spoilt this in Redgauntlet, fixing the horse-shoe on my uncle Grierson's brow. The family had nothing to do with it."¹ This illustrates neatly the relative character of judgements on Scott's historical manipulations; Sharpe's objection would scarcely occur to anyone outside his circle, or indeed to anyone but himself; if his personality had been different, he would have enjoyed the Redgauntlet horse-shoe all the more for knowing where it came from.

At the present time, the quasi-Elizabethan English which Scott used so often to simulate antiquity is not popular; Gadzooks, and all that, merely provoke the cultured snigger or even a certain distaste. But is there any certainty that this situation will be everlasting? One of these days, no doubt, Elizabethan English, modern English, and Scots, will all alike be dead languages; but whatever happens, the ridiculous associations attached to particular words or styles cannot last long.

To the present writer, after a fairly long course of reading in history and literature, there appears to be in Scott only one serious

1. D. Wilson, Reminiscences of Old Edinburgh (1878), II, 95.

violation of historical plausibility: one thing which really disturbs the "willing suspension of disbelief," and that is the character of the White Lady of Avenel in The Monastery. This disembodied spirit, intended as a companion-piece to Ariel, is doubtless a failure in the purely literary sense; but her most objectionable feature to the historian is that she, a fountain-haunting folk-lore sprite or nixie, proves to be an ally of the Calvinists in their struggle against the unreformed church; she recovers heretics' Bibles for them, after confiscation by the Roman Catholic authorities. As a representative of the powers of darkness, she might have been acceptable; even as a champion of the old faith, she might have been made tolerable, with careful handling; but her association with the Geneva gown is the last straw. Yet who can say that this absurdity will be equally evident to future civilisations? Time harmonises many incongruities: the Homeric poems, we are told, are a hotch-potch or patch-work, historically speaking, put together during several periods of Greek civilisation; but no one worries about that now.

Finally, a word about C. K. Sharpe's criticism, quoted in the early pages of this study, to the effect that Scott's romances "contain pictures of manners that never were, are, or will be, besides

ten thousand blunders as to chronology, costumes, etc." Sharpe must have known more about the genesis of the Waverley novels than almost any other person, then or since, having been a personal friend, fellow-antiquary, and research colleague of Scott's. Much of the evidence presented in this study must have been known to him, and perhaps much more; and there is no doubt that his works contain a great deal of truth. The way to reconcile Sharpe's statement with the very deep impression which the Waverley novels made on Europe is to take the hostile tone out of it while preserving the meaning, and say that in this series of volumes, Scott, like Robert Henry, presented "The History of Scotland and its neighbours on a New Plan" - a much more original plan than Henry's, involving the free handling and presentation of the material on aesthetic, not scientific, principles, and aiming at general fidelity to human nature rather than at close adherence to the historical structure of a given period. History, in fact, is given no special status; it is an extension of the artist's personal experience, and Scott's commonsense rules for its treatment are the commonsense rules which govern the treatment of any material whatever.

Section 4: attitudes to history in the novels.

In this section, it is proposed to discuss the topics already canvassed in connection with the historiography of Scott's time, and his own historical writings; the object being to bring out important differences between Scott's history and his fiction. These topics are the Highlands, the Middle Ages, and older cultures generally; the Reformation, Queen Mary, the Covenant, King versus Parliament, the Jacobites, and national feeling.

Whereas in historical writing Scott maintained the barbarous, anti-noble-savage, anti-Ossianic view of the Highlands, we find in the novels a marked swinging away from this attitude, which carries him, not to the opposite extreme of idealisation, but to a sound central position; not the anthropological view of John Millar, which perhaps would hardly do in fiction, but rather the friendly attitude of an interested and sympathetic visitor, as shown by Elphinstone and Malcolm towards the Afghans and Persians. Although Edward Waverley was an English visitor to the Highlands, the hostile emphasis of persons like Burt on poverty, dirt, savagery, and the rest, is quite absent, or rather is cleverly brought into a corner of the picture by means of the English Colonel Talbot; on the other hand, Waverley nowhere idealises the Highlands in the manner of Ossian and Dalrymple. (Anyone who doubts this, in view of Scott's "romantic" reputation, is

invited to read Waverley and Dalrymple in quick succession). The choleric Highland gentleman MacIvor and his followers give the impression of being represented as Scott really knew them - the gentleman, whose type he knew well personally, in full-length, and the followers, who were more remote in Scott's experience, as sketches.

In Rob Roy, the Legend, and The Highland Widow, new elements enter - the poetical outlaw and the Highland seer. In Waverley, the cateran Donald Bean Lean makes but a brief appearance, and then in a French uniform, which is doubtless largely responsible for his never "dropping into poetry"; the Highland seer at Prestonpans utters only a few impressive words. But Helen McGregor, Rob himself at times, Ranald McEagh, Allan Macaulay, and Elspat MacTavish, all speak at length in an elevated and poetical style which the hasty reader may be excused for branding as Ossianic, melodramatic, and unreal. Scott, in attempting to do justice to the maligned Highland outlaw,¹ seems to have adopted all the absurdity of the "noble savage" school of thought. But, although such writing undoubtedly moves away from the Elphinstone-Malcolm approach, strong defences are available.

1. Rob Roy, II, 313; Letters, XII, 24.

Scott's use of various kinds of poetic speech in the novels is worth the attention of students of literature. This is found largely, if not wholly, in the speech of characters drawn from the outer and lower fringes of society - Edie Ochiltree the beggar; a whole series of half-crazy outcasts and enthusiasts; - Meg Merrilees, Madge Wildfire, the Black Dwarf, Ulrica the Saxon, Magdalen Graeme, Norna of the Fitful Head; the religious enthusiasts of the 17th Century; and of course these Highland robbers and prophets. We are dealing with something bigger than "Ossian"; it is as though Scott used this device to render acceptable in his fiction people who in real life would probably disgust. Reversion to more primitive styles of speech has a certain appropriateness in such cases, since we are told that the emotional speech of primitive people, translated into English, often reads like poetry. In the case of the aberrant Highland characters under discussion, inspection reveals that they do not reproduce the "sentimental exclamation" and "romantic effusions of tenderness or sensibility"¹ of the false Ossian; all that they emulate is simply that elevated language which is not confined to the pseudo-Ossian, but is a genuine feature of the real Ossian, of the Bible, and in fact of primitive poetry in general when at its best.

1. Scott's 'Ossian Review' (Edinburgh Review, July 1805, Art. XV, p.441).

Scott's pseudo-Gaelic eloquence, at its best, resembles the language of the real Ossianic ballads: "The woods in which we had dwelt pleasantly, rustled their green leaves in the song, and our streams were there with the sound of all their waters" - thus speaks Ranald McEagh;¹ this is not only fine in itself, but is wholly in the spirit of the Ossianic ballads, where we read: "Vale of Darnadh! Pleasant to me would be each of its people: Sweet is the note of the cuckoo from the bending tree of the mountain above Glen-da-Ruadh."² When Scott fails, as he undoubtedly does at times, the failure is literary, and is not due to the intrusion of the "noble-savage" type of sentimentality into his approach to history.

Examples of such sentimentality do, however, occur in Macleay's book on Rob Roy already discussed. Macleay presents Rob Roy as a model of all chivalrous and knightly virtue, who "would spend whole days in the admiration of a sublime portraiture of nature,"³ rescued a distressed damsel from the clutches of a "base knight of England,"⁴ and surveyed a ruined castle "with emotions of reverence for its antiquity."⁵ Rubbish like this never occurs in Scott; even Wordsworth's Rob Roy is more in the style of Robin Hood than Scott's.⁶

1. Legend, 222.

2. 'Ossian Review,' 443.

3. Macleay, op. cit., 157.

4. Ibid., 228 ff.

5. Ibid., 234.

6. Quoted in Rob Roy, I, 30.

There may sometimes be a doubt. The dying Ranald McEagh invokes the Spirit of the Mist, and is reproached by the selfish materialist Dalgetty for not dying like a Christian.¹ This piece of irony may well suggest the doctrine of the superiority of the savage to the civilised man, and in fact the same chapter carries as its motto Dryden's famous lines on "the noble savage."²

But even if a question-mark remains opposite the names of these socially and mentally handicapped persons, it is to be noticed that ordinary Highlanders, like the Campbell gentry and Angus Macaulay in the Legend, or the "Dugald creature" in Rob Roy, continue to be treated in the Waverley spirit, although they might with some justification, as members of a primitive society, have been accorded a certain measure of poetical treatment.

In the novel of Rob Roy, Highland economic problems are no more romanticised than they are in the Introduction, previously discussed; or rather, they are less so. Nicol Jarvie's lecture on the Highlands,³ also mentioned earlier, helps to give Rob Roy that undertone of realism which belies its romantic and adventurous surface. In Stirlingshire: an Inventory of the Ancient Monuments (H.M.S.O., 1963), the Commissioners for Ancient Monuments in Scotland

1. Legend, 356.

2. Legend, 351.

3. Rob Roy, II, 130 ff.

remark in their Introduction (p.6) that in Stirlingshire there exist, or did exist, two contrasting cultures. "The point should ... be kept in mind and a modicum of truth recognised under the romantic licence of Scott's Rob Roy. Another aspect of this same picture, but one unmixed with romance, was given in 1795 by the minister of Campsie Parish, who stated that 'so late as the year 1744' his father had 'paid black mail to McGrigor of Glengyle.'" This clearly suggests that the romantic Scott suppressed the blackmail question from his account of Rob Roy; and yet we find Bailie Jarvie giving a full account of the institution, denouncing it as "clean again our statute law ... clean again law."¹ Thus the 20th Century condemns Scott for the sins of his contemporaries; but one day it will be realised that Scott's romanticism is little more than a veneer.

Were it not for the ravings of Elspat MacTavish, The Highland Widow would be the sober literary presentation of a problem in real life - the adaptation difficulties created for individuals by a sudden extension of the apparatus and ideology of the modern state over an area hitherto organised on more primitive lines. In fact, The Two Drovers, another story in Chronicles of the Canongate, makes the same point better because there is no Elspat howling through its pages.

1. Rob Roy, II, 138.

The Fair Maid of Perth, too, is fortunately free from the loquacity of maladjusted Gaels. The atmosphere is thus enabled to return to the conditions of Waverley; Simon Glover is the visitor from the Lowlands who witnesses interesting and picturesque ceremonies among the mountaineers. Highland life is accepted as being different and a little more primitive, and that is all; we find neither "polished" contempt nor foolish adulation, and the absence of bad poetic prose enables the reader to enjoy the presentation of a different kind of problem: the difficulty experienced by a man who finds himself chief of a clan, yet lacks the strength of nerve required in one who is expected to lead the clan personally in battle. Scott's attitude to any historical period is at its most balanced when he becomes absorbed in one of these problems of individual life.

The appeal which Ivanhoe and The Talisman used to make to the boy in people is sufficient evidence that Scott in his fiction broke away from the historian's unfavourable view of the Crusading period. The average person, thinking back to the remote days when he read these books, would probably judge that they offer a romantic idealisation of mediaeval life; but this of course is not true. Just behind the façade of tournaments, brilliant costumes, and knightly deeds, there lurks the ghost of David Hume. The Christian King Richard, for all his prowess and his gallantry, is clearly represented as an official

guilty of criminal neglect of duty;¹ in The Talisman he is decidedly inferior to his Mohammedan antagonist Saladin - the very point made by Hume and Robertson. The immense superiority of the Jewess Rebecca may be traced to the same source, as she is really the representative in England of Mohammedan civilisation. When her Eastern unguent, that which had cured Higg, the son of Snell, was examined at her trial by two native "doctors", they testified that since the ingredients lay outside their knowledge, they must belong to an unlawful and magical pharmacopeia, inhibited to the use of Christian doctors;² the unguent, says Scott, was confiscated "when this medical research was ended" - a phrase typical of the Enlightenment. After her narrow escape from death by burning as a sorceress, Rebecca beats a hasty retreat back to civilisation - that is, to Mohammedan Spain. - Apart from the virtuous hero, the remaining representatives of chivalry in Ivanhoe are detestable - the arrogant and licentious (or bigoted) Templars, the brutal Front-de-Boeuf, the treacherous snake Prince John. Ironically enough, the one knight who shows a trace of gentlemanly feeling, Maurice de Bracy, is a mere mercenary captain. The Christian leaders in Palestine are little better (see The Talisman). It seems, then, that Scott is not merely realistic about the Crusading period - after all,

1. Ivanhoe, II, 324-7; Talisman, 335.

2. Ivanhoe, II, 251.

the superiority of Saladin and the civilisation he represented may well be objective truth - but retains more than a trace of 18th Century prejudice against it.

If the crusading novels show a certain tendency to under-romanticise the opposite tendency may be seen in one of the 18th Century novels; Anne of Geierstein (1829), treating of Switzerland, Germany, Burgundy, and Provence in the time of Charles the Bold, gives some prominence to Radcliffian elements. We have a secret underground tribunal, before which accused persons are haled through the agency of a bed sinking through the floor of the inn; we have a mysterious Black Priest with dark glance and withering smile;¹ a German baron in his castle by the Rhine, whose midnight studies in the occult sciences give the place a sinister legendary fame - and much else of the sort. This romantic "cloak-and-dagger" picture is quite as unfair in its way to the mediæval world as the hostile realism of a Scottish historian. It is interesting that Scott should turn to this inferior conception only in his last years when his powers were failing, after having rejected it in earlier days when it was more fashionable.

And yet, once these exceptions have been made, we are still left with a body of writing, both in the Crusading novels and those of the 15th Century (Quentin Durward, Fair Maid of Perth, and Anne),

1. Anne, I, 320.

which avoids on the one hand the hostility of the 18th Century cultural parvenu, and on the other the falsifications of the stained-glass devotee or the cloak-and-dagger dreamer. The prevailing atmosphere of these books is simply one of keen, open-air interest in whatever is going on; it is the atmosphere of Froissart, which ought not to be called romantic, though it often is: the proper word is "extravert."

Certainly, there is a good deal of tyranny in the novels, and a good deal of bloodshed, whether on the field of battle, or in the way of private assassination, or on the scaffold. But then a certain amount of this is justified by the record; except in the case of Ivanhoe, there is no wholesale condemnation of a class or a régime; and Scott's treatment can help to restore a sense of proportion in the minds of modern readers by means of a Froissartian enthusiasm for gallant deeds, or by means of a certain macabre humour. The gallows and the noose, for example, are a prominent feature of Quentin, but Louis XI's hangmen, Trois-Echelles and Petit-André, are professional humourists, whose jests lower the temperature most effectively. - Archibald de Hagenbach, in Anne, is a petty tyrant, publicly beheaded at last with the sword for his misdeeds; but the reader is impressed rather by the dry humour with which he discusses his plans for fleecing the next wealthy traveller,¹ and by the public executioner who

1. Anne, I, 273 ff.

finally ends Hagenbach's career. This functionary, we are told, had to his credit the beheading, at one clean sword - stroke in each case, of eight noblemen; the equally skilful despatch of a ninth would entitle him to claim a patent of nobility, in accordance with the Imperial regulation to that effect made and provided. The ninth proved to be his own superior, Hagenbach, and, on the successful completion of his duty, the headsman bowed to the audience from all four corners of the scaffold, claiming their congratulations on his promotion, and duly receiving the meed of ironical cheers.¹ Such treatment helps to hold the vessel on an even keel.

A border-line case occurs in the Fair Maid. The horrors are plentiful - Rothesay's murder, the doings of the vile brute Bonthron, the clan battle; one wonders if the records quite justify all this, and most unfortunately the heroine, Catharine Glover, has a horror of violence and a conception of civil peace far in advance of her age; she therefore presents at times the appearance of an 18th Century blue-stocking lecturing the barbarians of the 15th. On the other hand, the Highlands are very well handled, as remarked above; some grim humour relieves the brutality of the Bonnet-maker's murder; and Catharine's status as a Lollard sympathiser lends a certain colour of historical justification to her pose as a champion of advanced

1. Anne, I, 347.

doctrine. On the whole, perhaps, pass for the Fair Maid, though Quentin Durward deserves to be called the most consistently successful of this group, in this matter.

Mention of Lollandry raises the question of religion; the novels contain some very sympathetic treatment of the mediaeval church. No topic was more difficult for Scott, as a Protestant, to handle fairly; no topic was less adequately treated in the formal histories of Protestant Britain; therefore nothing illustrates more clearly the advantages of the historical novel as a medium than his handling of the priests in Ivanhoe, chiefly Prior Aymer and the Hermit of Copmanhurst. There is no reformist denunciation of the worldliness of the clergy; Scott follows instead lines suggested by folk-lore, Chaucer, and the Chaucerians. It is as though he set out from the proposition that holy orders make great demands upon a man; demands too great for most men.¹ The resulting clerical inadequacy of many priests is treated with that humorous and sympathetic tolerance which marks the man of universal sympathies, such as every historian would like to be. Scott's masterpiece in this regard is the famous revel of the Hermit and King Richard, ending with the knock on the door which obliges the anchorite to strike up a thundering De Profundis Clamavi, as cover for the removal of bones and bottles. If it is right

1. Essay on Chivalry, 43.

to connect Scott's treatment of these priests with mediaeval humorous literature, the circumstance is another proof of the importance of literature for the historical novelist, as helping him to see things from the inside. Possibly the formal historians of Scott's age were not so well read as he in mediaeval poetry and folk-lore. - Whereas the reformers attacked the use of a dead language in church services and derided the insufficient Latinity of some clergymen, Scott was more interested in the social affectations resulting from the professional use by the clergy of that language, and represents them, in the spirit of good-natured teasing rather than of satire, as sprinkling their conversation and correspondence with unnecessary Latin versions of English phrases, drawn of course from the most familiar passages of scripture; they baffle the laity with their scanty science. Scott's delightful chuckle pervades his entire account of these worthies, and makes Ivanhoe, eternally readable. Unluckily, The Talisman has none of them.

Father Clement, the Lollard preacher in the Fair Maid, is accepted by the novelist as being in the right in his attacks on the Old Church;¹ and yet Clement is ~~rather~~ dull, and Scott's sympathies are rather obviously with the shrewd, ironical Simon Glover, who feels

1. Fair Maid, II, 187.

how awkward it all is when people think too far in advance of their time, and how regrettable it is that Clement escaped martyrdom, since his last words at the stake would have converted thousands.¹ In this case, the 18th Century dislike for enthusiasm operates, as we have already seen it do in the case of Hume, to the benefit of the Old Church. Glover displays a more tolerant spirit than Clement in the matter of the Highland coronach, which Clement stigmatises as paganism.²

The same Simon Glover, as it happens, offers a very advanced view of the Reformation in an interesting remark about Father Clement:³ "I defy foul fame to show that I ever owned him in any heretical proposition, though I loved to hear him talk of the corruptions of the Church, the misgovernment of the nobles, and the wild ignorance of the poor, proving, as it seemed to me, that the sole virtue of our commonweal, its strength and its estimation, lay among the burgher craft of the better class, which I received as comfortable doctrine, and creditable to the town." This pawky little preview of the economic interpretation of religious controversy is not paralleled elsewhere in Scott's works, and is, to say the very least, no part of the mental small change of his time.

1. Ibid., II, 230-1.

2. Ibid., II, 181.

3. Ibid., II, 135.

Trial by ordeal appears in the Fair Maid, and is not dismissed as a "farce." After the murder of the Bonner-maker, the suspects are paraded in Church past the murdered corpse, to see if it would bleed and thus indicate the murderer. Certainly, the guilty party refers to "juggling tricks" as his excuse for demanding ordeal by battle in lieu¹ - a touch in the manner of Robert Henry - yet the remark falls naturally enough into its context. Certainly again, Scott's impressive account of this devout appeal to the judgement of Heaven is a little spoiled by Catharine Glover's condemnation thereof as an insult to religion,² but as she is a Lollard, the feature can be accepted in this case as authentic, though we are apt to feel that we are listening to the voice of a later age.

Apart from Father Clement, Scott's principal studies of enthusiastic priests are Father Eustace and Henry Wardlaw, in The Monastery. The devotion and sincerity of Eustace the Catholic matches that of Wardlaw the Protestant, although the novelist obviously belongs to Wardlaw's party. But Scott's lack of sympathy for religious enthusiasm makes both of them unconvincing and rather tiresome, except for a moment when the pair are engaged in wordy warfare and Scott smiles at them as he would at a couple of squabbling

1. Ibid., II, 98.

2. Ibid., II, 48, 132-4.

gamecocks.¹ But when, as in Ivanhoe, he uses church history as material for the compassionate account of a human weakness, he furnishes an object-lesson to historians. Abbot Boniface, in The Monastery, is an easy-going, good-natured lover of creature comforts, who is unlucky enough to find himself in a position of responsibility at a time of crisis, to wit, the Reformation. The kindly humour with which his weaknesses are described, and the unexpected dignity with which he is invested when the time comes for him to retreat from an impossible position, make a startling contrast to the standard Protestant accounts of clerical debauchees and martyr-burning bigots; one sees how imaginative insight may lift a man above the rights and wrongs of local and temporary controversy on to a really universal level. Boniface resembles, in essentials, Trollope's Mr. Harding, in The Warden.

The influence of Abbot Boniface is lost in The Abbot, where he sinks to a minor character - the poor old gardener who has no peace to look after his fruit-trees because Catholic conspirators on behalf of Queen Mary insist on using his premises as their headquarters. The field is left free by his eclipse for an orthodox Protestant position; there are some more conscientious studies of devout Catholics, and some equally dull ones of Protestant enthusiasts,

1. Monastery, II, 258.

and we are really no further on than with a scrupulous text-book. If a novel is to illuminate and transform history, the spark of inspiration is indispensable. On the question of Queen Mary, The Abbot is most unsatisfactory. What interests the public principally is the elucidation of her guilt or innocence in the great mystery, but Scott evades the question throughout, and we are left with her charms, her heavy sarcasm, and her adventurous escape. Obviously he thought she was guilty, but that the public would prefer a romance which showed her as innocent. His Queen Mary adds nothing to history.

Scott the Protestant had been able, on occasion, to rise above party in the Reformation controversy, and one might expect Scott the royalist and Tory to do the same when handling the political and religious controversies of the 17th Century. So far as the English novels are concerned - Woodstock and Peveril - this does not really happen. Once again, the fair-minded Scott labours hard to be just, but his Puritan characters, Cromwell, Holdenough, Bridgenorth, and the rest, always seem to remain on the far side of the fence. The spontaneous, affectionate treatment of the easy-going old priests does not recur. What we do get is some laughter at the expense of two wrangling divings^{es}, as in the Eustace-Wardlaw case.¹ The most interesting feature of these two books is not therefore the contrast between

1. Woodstock, II, 368.

parties, (Scott said he was "hampered" with his "fanatics"),¹ but a human situation inside one of them, namely, the tragedy of unselfish devotion to an unworthy leader. While Sir Henry Lee and his family are risking their lives to save Charles II from capture after Worcester, the king attempts to seduce Sir Henry's daughter. (We are told in the Somers Tracts² that Sir Charles Sedley resented the debauching of his daughter by James, Duke of York; it is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the attentions even of royalty might be regarded by quiet country people of that day as a wicked abuse of hospitality, in real life as well as in the novel). Charles displays on reflection better instincts, being not yet wholly given up to selfish indulgence; and as the action approaches crisis, his conduct acquires that dignity and gentlemanly feeling which only Scott could portray in fiction without turning his character into a moralist's dummy. But when in the end the King returns from exile, to be met by the dying Sir Henry with his last Shakespeare quotation:-

"Unthread the rude eye of rebellion,

And welcome home again discarded faith,"

much of the poignancy of the scene is owing to the reader's knowledge of what Charles had come back to do.

1. Letters, IX, 412.

2. Somers, X, 331.

In the slightly earlier Peveril, treating of the Popish Plot, the same contrast appears between the cynical, shrewd Charles, whose chief virtue is a kind of lazy good-nature, spending his time surrounded by frivolous courtiers and loose women; and the honest, loyal souls who shared his adversity and are now neglected, or abandoned to the tempest of the Plot. The twitting by the worthless Buckingham of Major Coleby, a Worcester stalwart sunk through neglect to a very humble post in the Tower of London, sums it all up.¹ Yet the King's shame on recognising Coleby, and his sorrow at the old man's death, which follows within a few minutes as a result of the painful agitation of the meeting, shows once more that we are not dealing with a simple case of black and white.

But in all this writing, excellent as it is, Scott is concerned with his "own" party, and he cannot therefore be said to transcend the limitations of the historians of his age. Very different is the case of the Scottish Covenanters.

For the Covenant, in the days of its success, Scott has not much sympathy; in the Legend, Montrose is the friend, and Argyle, however restrained his treatment, is the enemy. The intervention of that non-aligned philosopher Dugald Dalgetty, however, pushes everything else, including party conflicts, into the background;

1. Peveril, Ch.40.

Scott transcends party only by subordinating it to something more interesting.

We have seen that David Hume, as an adherent of the Glorious Revolution, felt obliged to condemn the actions of the government in Scotland before 1688, and therefore to accord a grudging sympathy to the Covenanters, whose enthusiasm he detested. We have also seen that Scott as historian tends to take the same view, though with more kindness for the Covenanters, whose nationalism attracted him.¹

This ambiguity is very obviously present in Old Mortality. There, the royalists range widely from good to bad; from the gentle Monmouth, the worthy Major Bellenden, and Lady Margaret, through the gallant but merciless Claverhouse, to the brutal and tyrannical Privy Council and its agents the dragoons. The Covenanters range similarly from the virtuous Bessie Maclure through the moderate Morton and the "Indulged" Poundtext to the fanatics.

Tory prejudice may, however, be read into the fact that the mild and moderate Covenanters are greatly overshadowed by the fanatics - men who murdered the Archbishop, and were prepared to murder Morton; pale-eyed zealots, half-crazy enthusiasts. These were in real life a

1. Heart of Midlothian, II, 164.

small minority among the Presbyterians, and in fact the craziest of them - Gibbites, Sweet Singers - were disowned by the rest; but they occupy the front of the stage in the novel, and, as we have seen, take the lead in the affairs of the insurgent army which seems in fact to have belonged to the moderates. The artist's plea of the need for a strong contrast is perhaps not quite sufficient here. The influence of 17th Century royalist satire is also clearly visible in the choice of Covenanting names - Kettledrummle, Poundtext, Mucklewrath. (Yet John Half-text the episcopal curate must be borne in mind).

As against this, no one can say that Scott white-washed the government; his account of the conduct of the dragoons and of the lords of the Privy Council concedes without question whatever their enemies said about them, although defence is possible - Burnet,¹ for example, says that members of the Privy Council had to be forced to witness the torture of accused persons; but Scott takes no advantage of this. Further, it is a fact that Scott's unfavourable account of the "Indulged" people, in the person of the slothful Poundtext, who preferred his noggin of ale to fighting the battles of the Church, adopts the picture presented by the enthusiasts of the

1. Op. cit., I, 583.

Covenant; the Cloud of Witnesses, in its article on 'John Wilson,' condemns the Indulged for their "overweening love of ease," whereas Burnet the prelatist says the Indulged ministers preached Christianity instead of polemics.¹ These facts suggest that Scott really wrote from the Covenanting point of view much of the time; more evidence to this effect has already been offered in section 2 above, where his debt to the Cameronian writers is shown.

Disproportionate attention may, however, have been paid by Scott to the somewhat untypical extremist James Russell; it certainly is the case, as admitted above, that the fanatics are given an unhistorical prominence. Here, however, Scott's treatment can be justified on essentially the same grounds as his treatment of the backsliding priests of the old church in The Monastery and Ivanhoe; he accepts the faults of the persons concerned, but handles them with an imaginative sympathy which triumphantly overcomes the tendency to hostile caricature. Of the many great moments in Old Mortality, only one - Lady Margaret's protest against Claverse's proposal to shoot Morton in her courtyard² - is given to the royalists; the rest go to the Covenanters - the psalm before Drumclog, the noble oration of

1. Ibid., I, 282; but the interpretation of this remark is doubtful.

2. Old Mortality, I, 241.

Macbriar after the battle, his conduct before the Privy Council ("I trust my soul is anchored firmly on the rock of ages"), and the dying words of Mucklewrath ("How long, O Lord, holy and true ..."). The rescue of Morton from the fanatics at Drumshinnel by the opportune arrival of Claverhouse is perhaps a divided honour. The enthusiastic but comic eloquence of Manse Headrigg is an exact analogue to the talk of Abbot Boniface and the others; it enlists the smiling sympathy of all, except perhaps for a few of her own persuasion who have no sense of humour. Thus, if the predominance of the fanatics is unhistorical, it is the reverse of unfair; Scott gave them a greatness which they may not have had in real life.

Old Mortality is not uniform in tone; and there remains enough of hostile satire - in the offensive names, for example - to induce Scott to take up the Covenant again, and to combine in David Deans the comedy of Manse Headrigg and the nobility of the other Old Mortality worthies at their best, whilst toning down the element of dark fanaticism. Scott's noblest woman is David's daughter.

It is easy to understand the hostility of Thomas McCrie, who reviewed Old Mortality in hot haste - the novel was published in December 1816, and McCrie's Review appeared in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for January, February and March 1817.¹ (Periodicals could

1. Reprinted in Works, 1855.

be late in appearing, but not this one; see Letters, IV, 381).

Old Mortality on the whole transcends party, but McCrie could not do so, and did not wish to do so; he obviously wished any account of royalists and Covenanters to be done in black-and-white.¹ The novelist's superiority is clearly visible here,

McCrie scored a point when he said that Scott betrayed the vain and puffed-up mentality of a modern age, which fails to appreciate the achievements of its predecessors;² he saw the cloven hoof of David Hume in some expressions of distaste in the novel; but on the whole his attack is invalidated by an unduly partisan approach. He committed himself to the unfortunate statement that Scott wrote without the necessary extensive, minute, and accurate acquaintance with the period,³ and even stigmatises Scott as "a Scotsman retailing English blunders."⁴ The enlightened readers of the present study (not to mention Scott's 1829 notes) will enjoy McCrie's condemnation of the "strange, ridiculous, and incoherent jargon" of Scott's Covenanters.⁵

In this section, the object is to bring out Scott's ability when writing fiction to rise above the limitations of the historians of his period, including himself; but before the topic of Old Mortality

1. See his review, passim.
2. Review (ed. 1855), p.48.
3. Ibid., p.12, 72.
4. Ibid., 93.
5. Ibid., 46.

is dropped for the last time, it may be well to record that Sir Robert Rait lent the weight of his authority to the defence of Scott's historical accuracy, as well as fairness, in his article, 'Scott and Thomas McCrie,'¹ Scott's only material factual error, he says, is his statement that a Prayer-book was used in churches in the prelatical days, and even this is not serious, since the English prayer-book was in fact used in private family worship.² He admits McCrie's evidence that episcopal sermons of the 17th Century could be fully as absurd as any Presbyterian eloquence, but catches him in the serious misstatement that by the Revolution of 1688 the Covenanters achieved their aims. When McCrie defended the factious squabbles of the Covenanters before Bothwell Brig, he was going further even than John Howie, who condemned them, Cameronian as he was. - Both McCrie and Rait are, as Caleb Balderstone says, "worthy of a large perusal"; but the Covenant has already had its full share of space in the present pages.

Dugald Dalgetty was, as we have seen, morally inferior to all his prototypes, except perhaps Sir Roger Williams. It is very probable that his thick-skinned selfishness may be ascribed to Scott's wish, conscious or unconscious, to repeat the achievement of Falstaff in a

1. Sir Walter Scott Today, ed. Grierson (1932).

2. Ibid., p.7-8; Old Mortality, I, 223.

different mode; but it is also possible that the feature represents the sublimation of a modern dislike for mercenary soldiers.

Similarly, when Dalgetty samples every service in Europe, and even considers taking a turn with the Turk, his creator exaggerates the versatility of mercenaries beyond what his sources warrant, for more perhaps than humorous effect. If so, the odious and delightful Dugald is another triumph over prejudice for the novelist.

In the matter of superstition, to which Covenanters were prone, it is hardly necessary to point out that while Scott deplored it in an enlightened fashion when writing history, he entered into its spirit when writing fiction, and produced the masterpieces of the Bride and Wandering Willie's Tale.

On the Jacobite movement, there is little to add to what has already been said in Part I; Scott's historical writing on the Jacobites was a model of detached and yet sympathetic treatment, and so all that his fiction had to do was to maintain the standard. This, beyond all doubt, it did. Scott's fictitious Jacobites numbered in their ranks good people - Bradwardine, Flora MacIvor; mixed people - Redgauntlet, Fergus MacIvor; and bad people - Rashleigh Osbaldistone, Captain Craigengelt. The same may be said of his Hanoverians. It is unnecessary to pursue this point further; Thomas McCrie read Old Mortality before he criticised it, and there fore demands an extended

and considered reply; those who think Scott idealised the Jacobites need only be directed to page one of any edition of Waverley or Redgauntlet, Rob Roy or the Bride, with instructions to read on and forget the false picture of Robert Chambers.

In Scott's day, as we have seen, Scottish national feeling was becoming more evident in the historians, and was acquiring a new, quasi-religious colour, with some recrudescence of the old anti-English sentiment. Scott himself, as a historian, was not entirely free from this tendency, although there is little cause for serious complaint. - Now, in the novels, there is plenty of evidence for Scott's deep feelings about Scotland. Apart from the "Scotch novels," Scottish patriotism is obvious at a glance in Quentin Durward, and in The Talisman, whose great moment is the revelation of the obscure knight Sir Kenneth as David, Earl of Huntingdon, Prince Royal of Scotland.¹ Anne of Geierstein is in a sense a Scotch novel in disguise, so often is the parallel between the Scots and the Swiss suggested, and even openly drawn.² The Swiss, we are told, kneeled to pray before the battle of Granson, misleading Charles the Bold into the belief that they sought mercy³ - a reminiscence of Bannockburn. The fact that both nations were well-known as recruiting-grounds for mercenary soldiers had been impressed on Scott by his work on

1. Talisman, 523.

2. Anne, II, 166; Letters, XI, 29.

3. Anne, II, 291.

the Somers Tracts.¹

Being a Scot seems to have given our author an unfailing sympathy with the weaker party. Here is one possible reason for the tyrannical character of the Norman barons in Ivanhoe. When Cedric the Saxon says "Our deeds are lost in those of another race - our language, our very name is hastening to decay,"² we can surely hear speaking the man who ended his Minstrelsy Introduction with the fine valedictory words quoted earlier. The same theme recurs in Count Robert, whose hero is an exiled Saxon in the Imperial Guard at Constantinople, recalling the Scottish mercenaries in France and elsewhere in later times.

It is clear, therefore, that we need expect no consistent adoption of a supra-national, universalist stand-point. Yet it is vain to seek evidence of anti-English feeling in the novels, even in The Monastery, where Pinkie has to be mentioned, and the consequent English occupation of the South-East. In fact, Stawarth Bolton, the English soldier sent to harry Glendearg, is represented as a decent man, like many another soldier before and since, in England and out of it. The Jacobite zealot Redgauntlet does indeed speak of Scotland's subjection after 1707 to a foreign judicature, and of the Providential interposition which stopped Edward I on his way to Scotland in 1307;³

1. Somers, II, 125.

2. Ivanhoe, I, 101.

3. Redgauntlet, II, 268-9.

but this is reasonably in character, since the Jacobites had proposed to abrogate the Union. The peasant Andrew Fairservice constantly "girns" at the Union; but the burgess Nicol Jarvie champions it.¹ We have here a faithful piece of observation, borne out shortly after the novel was written by what happened after the rediscovery of the Regalia. Lockhart says that Edinburgh society, even high Tory, showed little interest, whereas the common people in town and country were greatly excited by the rediscovery of these national relics.² It would be wrong, doubtless, to accuse either Jarvie or Edinburgh society in Scott's time of lack of interest in Scotland, but it was the common people who looked back with regret to the days of independence. Business people and governing class people are presumably quicker to find out that the drawbacks of a small, independent state are great and increasing.

The novel of Kenilworth, as a whole, shows how by 1820 a Scot was capable of taking pride in the great age of Elizabeth, almost as if the Union had already taken place in Elizabeth's time, and as if Queen Mary had not existed. Scott's professional and enthusiastic immersion in the history and literature of the Elizabethan, Renaissance, and Augustan periods guaranteed that the "English" novels inspired by that literature, would show no trace of anti-English

1. Rob Roy, II, 153.

2. Lockhart, III, 158.

sentiment. It would be unreasonably cynical to suppose that Scott suppressed his feelings with an eye to the English book-market; he had, quite genuinely, a multiple cultural nationality, like many others since.

All this is much; the transcendent quality of the novelist, however, is seen at its best in two of the more obscure corners of his work. Magnus Troil, the Shetland Udaller, has a Norwegian background and sympathies, and resents the intrusion of Scotsmen into Shetland; he speaks in a style which sometimes recalls Cedric the Saxon. On the other hand, the Scots in Shetland are represented by the pedantic Yellowley and his miserly sister Baby, whose kindred, the Clinkscales of the Mearns, are depicted in as unflattering a light as if the author were a hostile English visitor to Scotland.¹

Secondly and lastly, there is in The Black Dwarf a remarkable passage about an anti-Union (1707) meeting.² "Our commerce is destroyed, hallooed old John Bewcastle, a Jedburgh smuggler ... 'Our agriculture is ruined' said the Laird of Broken-girth-flow, a territory which since the days of Adam had borne nothing but ling and whortle-berries ... 'Think of the piracies committed on our East-Indian trade by Green and the English thieves,' said William Willieson, half-owner and sole skipper of a brig that made four voyages annually between Cockpool and

1. Pirate, I, 53 ff.

2. Black Dwarf, 315 ff.

Whitehaven." This piece of anti-nationalist satire makes a fitting conclusion to this chapter, which shows that Scott's New Plan, in addition to the merits already detailed, enables him to achieve, not throughout, but still very often, a universality of outlook surpassing in quality even the best historical work of the Scottish Golden Age.

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS, USED IN APPENDIX I TO DENOTE
SCOTT'S WRITINGS AND EDITIONS.

Amadis Review	Review of 'Amadis of Gaul', in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XVIII.
Bannatyne Memoir	'Memoir of George Bannatyne,' in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XXX.
Carlton	<u>Memoirs of Capt. George Carlton ... written by himself</u> , ed. Scott, 1808.
Carr Review	Review of Carr's <u>Caledonian Sketches</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XIX.
Cary	<u>Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth, written by himself, and Fragmenta Regalia ... by Sir Robert Naunton</u> ... ed. Scott, 1808
Chatterton Review	Review of <u>The Works of Thomas Chatterton</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XVII.
Chivalry	<u>An Essay on Chivalry</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , VI.
Cid Review	Review of Southey's <u>Chronicle of the Cid</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XVIII.
Culloden Papers Review	Review of <u>The Culloden Papers</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XX.
Drama	<u>An Essay on the Drama</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , VI.
Dramas	Plays by Scott, collected in <u>Poetical Works</u> , XII.
Ellis Reviews	Review of Ellis's <u>Specimens of the Early English Poets</u> ; and review of Ellis's <u>Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances</u> , together with Ritson's <u>Ancient English Metrical Romances</u> ; both articles in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XVII.
Evans Review	Review of Evans's <u>Old Ballads</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XVII.

- Fountainhall Chronological Notes on Scottish Affairs, 1680-1701, from the Diary of Lord Fountainhall, ed. Walter Scott, 1821.
- Franck Richard Franck, Northern Memoirs, ed. Walter Scott, 1821.
- Godwin Review Review of Godwin's Life of Chaucer, in Misc. Prose Works, XVII.
- Gwynne John Gwynne, Military Memoirs of the Great Civil War, ed. Scott, 1822.
- Herbert Review Review of Herbert's Poems, in Misc. Prose Works, XVII.
- Home Review Review of The Life and Works of John Home, in Misc. Prose Works, XIX.
- Johnes Review Review of Johnes' translation of Eroissart, in Misc. Prose Works, XIX.
- Kemble Review Review of Boaden's Life of Kemble, in Misc. Prose Works, XX.
- Landlord Review Review of Tales of my Landlord, in Misc. Prose Works, XIX.
- Landscape Gardening 'On Landscape Gardening' - review of Steuart's Planter's Guide, in Misc. Prose Works, XXI.
- Malachi 'Letters of Malachi Malagrowther,' in Misc. Prose Works, XXI.
- Molière Review Review of Molière, in Misc. Prose Works, XVII.
- Morier Review Review of Morier's Hajji Baba in England, in Misc. Prose Works, XVIII.
- Pepys Review Review of Pepys's Diary, in Misc. Prose Works, XX.
- Pitcairn Review Review of Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, in Misc. Prose Works, XXI.

Ritson Review	'Ancient History of Scotland' - review of Ritson's <u>Annals of the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XX.
Romance	<u>An Essay on Romance</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , VI.
Salmonia Review	Review of Davy's <u>Salmonia</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XX.
Slingsby	<u>Original Memoirs written during the Great Civil War, being the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby, and Memoirs of Capt. Hodgson, with Notes</u> , ed. Scott, 1806.
Somerville	James, 11th Lord Somerville, <u>Memorie of the Somervilles</u> , ed. Scott, 1815.
Spenser Review	Review of Todd's Edition of Spenser, in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XVII.
Suffolk Review	Review of Lady Suffolk's Correspondence, in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XIX.
Thornton Review	Review of Thornton's <u>Sporting Tour</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XIX.
Tytler Review	Review of Tytler's <u>History of Scotland</u> , in <u>Misc. Prose Works</u> , XXI.

APPENDIX I: Scott's historical allusions

This list of Scott's historical allusions omits:-

- (1) Books on post-1745 history;
- (2) Ephemera such as pamphlets, with a limited number of exceptions;
- (3) Individual documents, except for Scottish public records and Scottish family papers;

(4) References to standard literary works. Scott very often cites imaginative works as historical evidence, but no such citations are included here. Even such writers as Dryden and Swift, because their works are not normally found in the history section of a library, are excluded - it is necessary to draw a line somewhere.

(5) References to books in very specialised branches of history; for example, the history of the stage, or of witchcraft and astrology. It is worth noting, however, that many books, whose scope justifies inclusion in the list, are referred to by Scott on account of the material on superstition which they incidentally contain; and such references are given here. It is as though a modern author were to cite Bede for his miracle stories; it is interesting to find Scott doing this, and doing it often. John Lilly has been admitted because his predictive activities had a certain political interest.

This list must be regarded primarily as an index of authors, since Scott very often fails to add a title. Book titles given in square brackets are merely conjectural; the presence of a title without brackets may mean no more than that Scott has cited it somewhere.

Ancient History.

- Adam, Alexander, Roman Antiquities - Journal, 8.
- Ammianus Marcellinus - Ritson Review, 340.
- Bryant, Jacob Letters, XII, 45.
- Caesar Sir Tristrem, 424; Waverley, I, 6; Antiquary, II, 340; Border Antiq., 48; Ritson Review, 310; Grandfather, VI, 14; Demonology, 100; Letters, VII, 449; Dryden, XI, 13.
- Claudian Antiquary, I, 63; "Lardner" I, 7.
- Dio Cassius Grandfather, VI, 34; "Lardner" I, 6.
- Diodorus Siculus Ritson Review, 310.
- Ferguson, Adam, Hist. of the Roman Republic - Home Review, 330-1; Letters, VIII, 443.
- Herodotus Swift, XII, 6.
- Josephus, Wars of the Jews - Lockhart, I, 14.
- Livy Waverley, I, 143; Letters, XII, 45; Dryden, IX, 115.
- Mela, Pomponius Ritson Review, 310.
- Mitford, William, Hist. of Greece - Letters, VIII, 443.
- Pliny [The Elder] Minstrelsy, IV, 273; Waverley, I, 202; Ritson Review, 310; Demonology, 91.

- Plutarch, Lives - Letters, VII, 448; Home Review, 308;
Grandfather, VI, 25.
- Polyaenus, Stratagematon - Antiquary, II, 340.
- Polybius Antiquary, II, 340.
- Ptolemy Ritson Review, 310.
- Rollin, Charles, Ancient History of the Egyptians, etc. - Letters, VI, 463; VIII, 102.
- Solinus Ritson Review, 310.
- Strabo Ritson Review, 310.
- Tacitus Waverley, II, 164; Antiquary, I, 213-4, 247;
 II, 271; Quentin, II, 401; Chivalry, 6, 23;
Border Antiq., 13, 26, 43; Amadis Review, 26;
 Ritson Review, 310, 330 ff; "Lardner" I, 2;
 II, 390; Letters, I, 248; VII, 157, 449;
 IX, 34, 75; Dryden, IX, 43, 165; XI, 13;
Swift, X, 494.
- Thucydides Lay, 284.

Europe, The Expansion of Europe, and the East.

- Abulfaragi (Ab-ul-Faraj), [Chronicon Syriacum] - St. Ronan's, I, 313.
- Adair, James, History of the American Indians - Rokeby, 120.
- Anna Comnena, Alexiad - Count Robert, I, 97, 157, 313, 431;
 II, 238, 244; Grandfather, VI, 168, 170.

- Babur, Commentaries - Lives, II, 196.
- Barante, Pierre, [Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne] - Anne of Geierstein, I, 20, 403.
- Baronius, Caesar, [Annales Eccles.] - Grandfather, VI, 224.
- Bartholine, Thomas, Antiquitates Danicae - Minstrelsy, II, 273; III, 241, 245; Lay, 205; Marmion, 384; Lady, 312; Antiquary, II, 28; Ivanhoe, I, 258; Pirate, I, 383; II, 387; Demonology, 100; Letters, I, 23.
- Bayle, Pierre Quentin Durward, II, 402.
- Bernard, St. Ivanhoe, II, 242.
- Blau^{eu}, Jan, Atlas - Minstrelsy, II, 95; Pirate, I, 355; Tytler Review, 197.
- Bodin, Jean, [Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem] - Johnes Review, 127.
- Boorde, Andrew, [First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge] - Letters, XI, 200.
- Brantôme, Pierre de Bourdeille, Sieur de, Works - Minstrelsy, II, 264; Marmion, 270; Lady, 200, 228, 275, 346; Waverley, I, 116; Fortunes, I, 405; Quentin, II, 193, 400; Chivalry, 81, 114-122; Johnes Review, 127; "Lardner" II, 59; Letters, VII, 246;

XI, 59; Secret History, I, 76; Somerville, I, 208.

Buchon, Jean, Chroniques Nationales Françaises - Letters, XI, 470.

Buxtorf, Johannes, Traditions of the Jews - Minstrelsy, III, 260.

Daru, Pierre, Hist. de la République de Venise - Letters, X, 17.

Diaz del Castillo, Bernal, [Nueva España] - Demonology, 12.

Cayet, Pierre Dryden, XVII, 94.

Cellini, Benvenuto, Autobiography - Provincial Antiquities, 308.

Chastellain, Georges, Letters, I, 199, 358, 391; II, 316.

Cid, Poem of the- 'Cid' Review, passim; Chivalry, 72; Letters,
II, 51, 136, 471; III, 172; Swift, IX, 457.

Colombière, Marc Vulson, Sieur de, Le Vrai Théâtre d'Honneur -
Minstrelsy, III, 79-82.

Commines, Philippe de, Mémoires - Waverley, II, 434; Quentin, I, 11;
II, 150, 165, 397-407; Anne, II, 333, 385.

Morier Review, 383; Letters, IV, 214; VII, 275,
283, 308, 323; Journal, 622; Dryden, XVIII, 36.

Dampier, William, [Voyages] - Lives, II, 250.

D'Aubigné, Théodore, Chivalry, 114.

Davila, Enrico, Civil Wars in France - Minstrelsy, III, 79;
Letters, XI, 320; Dryden Life, 67, 243; Dryden,
VII, 9-138 passim.

- Ducange, Charles du Fresne, Sieur, Minstrelsy, II, 260; Sir Tristrem, 378, 403; Marmion, 43; Count Robert, I, 55, 129, 157, 430-32; II, 243-4; Romance, 169; Border Antiq., 119; Amadis Review, 3; Letters, I, 268, 283; Lockhart, I, 172; Sadler Papers, I, 19.
- Dude of St. Quentin - Letters, XII, 240.
- Du Guesclin, Bertrand, Histoire de - Chivalry, 65; Romance, 169; Amadis Review, 3.
- Duplessis-Mornay, Philippe - Chivalry, 114.
- Du Tillet, Jean Chivalry, 94, 98.
- Elphinstone, Mountstuart, Account of Cabul - Culloden Papers Review, 10, 14, 34; Letters, IV, 169, 185, 338.
- [Esquemeling, A.O.] - Hist. of the Buccaneers - Rokeby, 38; Letters, VII, 323; Swift, XII, 285.
- Firdausi, Shah-Namah - Romance, 147; Letters, III, 170.
- Froissart, Jean, Chronicles - Minstrelsy, I, 211, 307, 322-366 passim; III, 55; IV, 258; Sir Tristram, 39, 380, 402, 404, 407, 421, 446; Lay, 52, 55, 79, 107, 138, 163, 239-40, 245, 259, 283; Marmion, 47; Lady, 349; Rokeby, 341; Lord, 246, 320; Dramas, 12; Waverley, I, 116; Old Mortality, II, 203;

Ivanhoe, I, 30; II, 103; Monastery, II, 192;
Peveril, I, 136; II, 337; Woodstock, I, 137;
Anne, I, 20; Lives, I, 306, 332; II, 101, 148;
Chivalry, 20, 34, 38, 57, 62, 64, 79, 83, 93, 96,
 107; Romance, 183; Border Antig., 60, 90;
Provincial Antig., 222; Amadis Review, 12, 29,
 39; Cid Review, 69 ff.; Johnes Review, passim;
Pitcairn Review, 207; Grandfather, I, 240;
 VII, 18, 34, 103, 123, 137, 199, 217, 222, 228,
 258; "Lardner" I, 154, 158, 189, 222, 224, 227;
Letters, II, 169, 493; III, 81; IV, 214, 219,
 271; VI, 300; VII, 253; XII, 253, 255, 402,
 412; Dryden, IV, 3; Swift, IV, 208; Somerville,
 I, 140, 199; Franck, 372.

Galeotti, Marzio [Libellus elegans de dictis et factis Matthiae ...

Hungariae Regis] - Quentin, I, 319.

Gervase of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia - Minstrelsy, I, 203, 265-76;
 III, 245; IV, 350; Lady, 344; Letters, XII,
 227, 234; Dryden, XIII, 332.

Gibbon, Edward, Decline and Fall - Sir Tristrem, 394, 428; Don
Roderick, 375; Talisman, 200, 542; Count Robert,
 I, 39, 42, 44, 52, 159, 187, 431-2; II, 169,

240, 244-5; Ritson Review, 310, 327; Tytler Review, 198; Grandfather, VI, 40; Letters, V, 112; VIII, 443; Dryden, XVIII, 24, 51, 58; Swift, XIV, 147.

Gomara, Lopez de, Chronicle - Demonology, 12.

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Grotius, Hugo, De Rebus Belgicis; Legend, 38; Cary, 260; Somers, I, 260.

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Honorius of Augsburg, Gemma Anime - Provincial Antiquities, 304.

Hyde, Thomas, Sir Tristrem, 379.

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I, 116; Chivalry, 54, 111, 114-5; Romance, 188,
197, 199; Swift, XI, 110.
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484, 494.
- Legendre, [Louis?] - Chivalry, 98.
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250-1; Don Roderick, 430; Letters, II, 477-8.
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Minstrelsy, I, 204; II, 273; Sir Tristrem, 378;
Marmion, 292; Lady of the Lake, 317; Rokeby,
91-2; Pirate, I, 386, 388; II, 141; Peveril,
I, 351; Letters, VIII, 371; XI, 265.
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79 ff.
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394; Culloden Papers Review, 15; "Lardner"
I, 50; Letters, IV, 133, 185, 338.

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- Mer des Histoires, La - Abbot, II, 266.
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- Mills, Charles, History of the Crusades, History of Chivalry - Talisman, 6, 276; Count Robert, I, 42, 159, 227, 234; Letters, IX, 272.
- Molinet, Jean, Marmion, 232; Godwin Review, 76; Lockhart, V, 283; Letters, II, 316.
- Montfaucon, Bernardin de [L'Antiquité Expliquée] - Sir Tristrem, 73; Lay, 282; Letters, I, 478-9.
- Monluc, Blaise de, Commentaries - Chivalry, 110.
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Surgeon's Daughter, 178.
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XI, 132, 444.
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- Pasquier, Etienne, [Râcherches de la France] - Quentin, I, 396;
Chivalry, 98.
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Journal, 126, 632, 777. [In addition, Scott
reviewed this book in the Foreign Quarterly
Review, August 1829. The review is not in the
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Minstrelsy, IV, 266.
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Minstrelsy, III, 54; Letters, II, 357; Dryden,
IV, 7.
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Quentin, II, 397; Letters, XI, 470.
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Minstrely, III, 228; IV, 290; Rokeby, 166;

Pirate, I, 383; Salmonia Review, 286; Lockhart,

II, 361; Letters, VII, 447.

Procopius

Count Robert, I, 164.

Purchas, Samuel,

Purchas his pilgrimage, etc. - Monastery, I, 69;

Woodstock, I, 337; Lives, II, 250; Dryden, V, 3.

Ramsey, André, Chevalier de - Letters, IV, 521.

Ramusio, Giovanni, Navigazioni - Letters, II, 150, 159.

Raymund of St. Giles (or Raymond d'Agiles) - St. Ronan's, I, 313.

Raynal, Guillaume, History of European Settlements - Rokeby, 38, 59;

Swift, XII, 280.

Resenius, Peder [Kong Fredericks den Andens Kronicke] - Minstrely,

IV, 290.

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Fifth - Letters, X, 440.

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Don Roderick, 378, 429.

SAGAS.

Christni Saga - Minstrelsy, III, 245; IV, 277.

Egils Saga - Ellis Reviews, 43.

Eyrbyggja Saga - Pirate, II, 388, 392; Chivalry, 25;

Romance, 190; Amadis Review, 26;

Demonology, 97, 105; Letters, III, 436;

X, 201.

Gunlaugi Saga - Sir Tristrem, 424.

Heimskringla - Romance, 190.

Herverar Saga - Minstrelsy, III, 245; Lay, 205.

Olaf Tryggvasons Saga - Romance, 190.

Omeyinga Saga - Romance, 190.

Ste. Palaye, Jean Baptiste ... de, Memoirs of the Life of Froissart -

Johnes Review, 115, 122, 129.

" "

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IV, 480.

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Saviola, Vincent, His Practice - Waverley, II, 257; Woodstock,

II, 92.

^x
Saeco Grammaticus, Historia Danica - Minstrelsy, II, 273; III, 242;

IV, 106; Ellis Reviews, 27; Kemble Review, 204;

Demonology, 101 ff.

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Journal, 571.

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IV, 214, 446; V, 115, 340; Swift, XI, 123.

Speculum Regale (or Konungs Skuggsjá) - Minstrelsy, IV, 290.

Spondanus, Henry (or de Sponde) - Fortunes, II, 206.

Strada, Famiano, De Bello Belgico - Grandfather, II, 291.

Sully, duc de, Memoirs - Poems, VI, 318; Rob Roy, I, 111;
Chivalry, 108, 114; Letters, VI, 353; Cary, 39.

Sylvius, Aeneas - [Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium] - Border
Antiquities, 79; Waverley, I, 331.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste, Voyages - Dryden, V, 170.

Thuanus (or Thou, Jacques de), [History and Memoirs] - Minstrelsy,
IV, 203.

Tillemont, Louis de, Histoire Ecclesiastique - Ritson Review, 311.

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I, 360; Provincial Antiq., 191.

Tooke, William, History of Russia - Minstrelsy, II, 323.

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Minstrelsy, II, 256, 273; III, 246, 274;
Marmion, 291; Lady, 179; Pirate, II, 388;
Letters, VII, 446; Lockhart, III, 366; Dryden,
 XVIII, 166.
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Tristrem, 402.
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 229; Dryden Life, 286; Swift, IV, 208.
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Lockhart, I, 37.
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 X, 403.
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Don Roderick, 375; Carr Review, 178.
- Wafer, Lionel Lives, II, 250.
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- William of Tyre, History - St. Ronan's, I, 313.
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Letters, VII, 322-3.
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Sir Tristrem, 69; Letters, II, 426; XI, 199.
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 I, 433.
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Don Roderick, 367; Betrothed, 166; Border
Antiquities, 16, 28; Provincial Antiq., 227.
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Demonology, 334; Letters, VI, 272; XI, 6, 386.
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Tristrem, 123, 435; Letters, XII, 192.

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Fortunes, I, 401; Somers, II, 285, 298, 332;
 V, 442; Secret Hist., II, 226.
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 198; Somers, II, 453.
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 138; Swift, IX, 216.
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Review, 238.
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Dryden Life, 363; Somers, V, 630 ff; VI, 432,
 435; VII, 110-11, 243, 340, 385, 404; Secret
History, II, 351.
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Fortunes, II, 213; Peveril, II, 353.
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- Bede Marmion, 94, 110; Ritson Review, 341; Somers,
 III, 359.
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Dryden, XV, 190; Somers, I, 261, 264; II, 13;
 IV, 45; V, 196, 396; VI, 413, 584; VII, 72;

VIII, 230, 448; IX, 367, 388, 470, 541; X, 257;
 XII, 282; XIII, 43, 71, 667, 710; Secret
History, I, 38, 441; II, 29, 202, 280, 461;
Swift, II, 317; III, 351; VI, 53; IX, 201,
 263, 401; XVI, 289, 302, 318, 472.

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Papers, I, 66; Somers, IV, 159, 162.
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 249; Secret History, I, 428; II, 241.
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Carleton, xiii; Secret History, I, 322.
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Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons)
Quentin, I, 259.
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Minstrelsy, III, 234.
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 V, 387; XVI, 349.
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Marmion, 44.
- Bowles, William L. - Canongate, 155.

Brunne, Robert de (or Mannyng), Chronicle - Sir Tristrem, 4, 9, 45, 63, 84, 87 ff, 452; Romance, 131, 204 ff; Ellis Reviews, 8 ff., 52; Letters, I, 190, 192, 198, 209; XII, 178.

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302, 305, 307; XI, 212; XV, 209; XVII, 191,
 196, 236; Carleton, iii; Somers, VII, 424;
 IX, 28; 51, 58, 75, 116, 151, 159, 174, 183,
 253, 527; X, 66, 205, 206, 333, 349, 352, 372,
 378, 393, 453, 610; XI, 73, 102, 105, 112, 127,
 191, 228, 547; XII, 606; Swift, III, 31; IV, 41,
 105; V, 198; VI, 158, 344; X, 125, 144, 157,
 171; XI, 19; XIII, 165 ff; Gwynne, x, 162,
 165, 180, 215.

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Somers, IX, 68; Swift, IV, 318; VI, 328.

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 documents of the Tudor and early Stewart periods) -
Minstrely, II, 78; Border Antiq., 76, 88;
Somers, I, 429; II, 169; Sadler Papers, II, 111,
 115, 117, 119, 146; Secret History, II, 277.

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Antiq., 301.

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 I, 155, 165, 195; II, 274; III, 236, 245; IV,
 268; Marmion, 104; Rokeby, 56, 122, 179, 325;
Harold the Dauntless, 235; Ivanhoe, II, 402;

Monastery, I, 348; Kenilworth, I, 393; Fortunes, I, 406; II, 405; St. Ronan's, I, 315; Border Antiq., 130; Ritson Review, 335; "Lardner" II, 253, 274, 279; Letters, II, 62; VII, 450; XI, 363; XII, 253; Dryden, X, 29; Cary, xxxii, 242, 297; Somers, I, 61, 194, 196, 203, 209, 210, 212, 218, 244, 254, 268, 282, 329, 330, 414, 483, 578, 589, 612; II, 11, 147, 514; Sadler Papers, I, 370, 389, 394, 590, 635; II, 33, 54, 123, 356, 414; Secret Hist., I, 232; Swift, II, 300; VI, 448.

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 II, 22, 47, 48; Lay, 162, 265; Marmion, 372;
Legend, 231; Monastery, II, 359; Border Antiq.,
 124, 127, 128; Lardner, II, 298, 424; Somers,
 I, 239, 246, 260, 272, 445; II, 223; Secret
Hist., I, 89, 108, 147, 288, 314; II, 63.
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 XII, 385.
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 I, 273; II, 408, 410, 419, 421, 438, 450; Secret
Hist., I, 323, 342, 350.
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Secret Hist., I, 150, 213; Lardner, II, 421.
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Sadler Memoir, 129.
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II, 597.

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Minstrelsy, I, 183; Sir Tristrem, 376.
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- Dugdale, Sir William, Baronage - Letters, VII, 463; Slingsby, 170;
Dryden, V, 181; Sadler Papers, II, 38.
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Sadler Memoir, 97, 103.
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XI, 64.
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Border Antiq., 134.
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Letters, VIII, 370.
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343; Dryden Life, 71-93; Lives, II, 256; 'Drama',
352-360, Provincial Antiq., 182; Pepys Review,

107 ff; Molière Review, 208; Letters, V, 140;
225; X, 497; XII, 433; Dryden, IX, 412.

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XII, 385.

Fairfax, Thomas, Memorials - Slingsby, 101, 125.

Fanshawe, Anne, Memoirs - Lady of the Lake, 324; Betrothed, 246;
Letters, XI, 475.

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130.

Ferne, Sir John, Blazon of Gentry - Ivanhoe, II, 100; Quentin,
II, 405.

Finnett, John, Finnetti Philoxenis - Morier Review, 379;
Somers, VII, 500 ff; Secret Hist., I, 399, 447;
Swift, IX, 457.

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Queen Elizabeth, etc. - Sadler Papers, I, 468.

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Grandfather, III, 70; Letters, II, 31, 63, 106;
Somers, V, 192; VI, 579; VIII, 428; IX, 259,
260; Swift, X, 164, 279.

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- Geoffrey of Monmouth - Minstrely, IV, 142, 144; Sir Tristrem, 26, 422; Betrothed, 31; Border Antiq., 29; Ellis Reviews, 38; Amadis Review, 6, 7; Demonology, 132; Letters, I, 168; XII, 196, 200; Dryden, VIII, 109; Somers, I, 43.
- Gildas Ritson Review, 339, 348, 351.
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Romance, 131; Letters, I, 346.
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45.

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Lives, I, 279; Letters, V, 119.
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Somers, I, 32, 39.
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 177; Peveril, II, 248; Amadis Review, 24;
Pepys Review, 112, 149; Molière Review, 161;
Letters, II, 270; XII, 400; Journal, 395;
Dryden, VIII, 454; IX, 72, 250; XV, 206;
 XVIII, 93; Somers, VII, 185.
- Hardyng, John, Chronicle - Lord, 312; Ellis Reviews, 12.
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Kenilworth, II, 31; Fortunes, I, 9, 98; Letters,
 XII, 248; Dryden, VIII, 452; Somers, II, 4, 11,
 113, 145, 451; Sadler Papers, II, 202, 204, 573;
Secret Hist., I, 340; II, 390; Swift, XI, 380.
- Harleian Miscellany - Letters, II, 55, 112, 195, 203; Dryden, VII,
 294, 433; IX, 22, 24, 292; Somers, I, 81,

- 438; II, 517; V, 414 ff; VI, 254, 275, 354 ff.,
469, 471-3; Sadler Papers, II, 113; Secret Hist.,
II, 360; Somerville, II, 268.
- Hawkwood, Sir John, Memoirs - Letters, VII, 323.
- Haynes, Samuel, State Papers - Minstrelsy, I, 123; Sadler Papers,
I, 190, 299, 328, 389, 417, 623, 654, 718;
II, 54; Lardner, II, 221, 232.
- Hayward, Sir John - Somers, I, 330.
- Hearne, Thomas - Ellis Reviews, 17.
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Slingsby, 186, 189; Somers, VI, 514, 538, 542;
VII, 122, 128, 129, 415, 451, 469, 546.
- Henry of Huntingdon - Ritson Review, 364.
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377; Romance, 173; Journal, 589.
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III, 53, 78, 82; Marmion, 241; Fortunes, I, 6;
Dryden Life, 423; Chivalry, 9, 117, 122; Land-
scape Gardening, 93; Grandfather, II, 257; Letters,
III, 197; Dryden, X, 23; Somers, II, 188-9.
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Lardner, II, 205, 406; Somers, II, 64, 311, 400;
 III, 70, 95, 270; IV, 546. (See also History
of ... fourteen years, etc., supra).
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Lay, 104.
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Somers, IX, 476; Swift, IV, 323.
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- " MS. Inventory - Kenilworth, II, Note A.
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Lardner, II, 274; Secret Hist., II, 360.
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Waverley, II, 430; Redgauntlet, I, 7; Home
Review, 354; Grandfather, V, 420; Swift Mem.,
 150, 321, 361, 414; Swift, III, 3.

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Leicester's Ghost) Jesuit) - Kenilworth, I, 7, 397; Cary, 210, 268; Somers, I, 260, 275; Sadler Papers, II, 50; Secret Hist., I, 86.
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Antiq., 363; Demonology, 333; Dryden, IX, 51;
Somers, V, 461, 466; VII, 647; Secret History,
 I, 200, 264; II, 13-16, 226, 376.

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Lloyd, David, State Worthies - Sadler Memoir, 130; Somers, I,
 264; II, 362; VIII, 230; Secret Hist., I, 79,
 154, 163, 273, 366.

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Review, 306; Swift, III, 92.

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Ritson Review, 306.

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Portraits of Illustrious Personages - Minstrelsy,
 III, 87, 88; Sadler Memoir, 119; Letters, II, 55;
 X, 406; XII, 29; Dryden, VIII, 452; Somers, I,
 167; Sadler Papers, I, 388-9; II, 41, 57, 97,
 365, 372, 411-4; Swift, VII, 468; Somerville,
 I, 395.

Ludlow, Edmund, Memoirs - Slingsby, xii, xv, 181; Dryden, IX, 50;
Somers, IV, 444; V, 183, 375, 573, 625; VI, 267,
 303, 346, 416, 422, 424 ff., 484, 508, 514-16;

VII, 42, 152, 407, 419, 423, 434, 439.

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[letters from a nobleman] - Lives, I, 245;
Grandfather, VI, 3; Letters, III, 509; IV, 280;
VIII, 443.

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Journal, 717.

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Review, 71; Swift, VI, 141. (See also James II).

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other writings - Swift II, 144; III, 145, 226,
230, 234, 237, 349; IV, 15, 105; V, 54, 262,
409; VI, 452; XII, 12.

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Marvell, Andrew, Prose writings - Dryden Life, 42; Dryden, IX,
74, 259; XVII, 164; Somers, VIII, 229, 281;
IX, 153; Swift, IX, 466; XI, 19.

Matthew Paris, [Chronica Majora] - Minstrelsy, III, 48; Tytler Review,
170; "Lardner" I, 56; Letters, VII, 449.

Matthew of Westminster [supposed author of a Flores Historiarum] -

Lord, 85, 86, 304; Tytler Review, 194.

May, Thomas,

History of the Long Parliament - Somers, VII, 91;

Secret History, I, 223.

Menteith, Robert (or Mentat de Salmonet) - Troubles de la Grande

Bretagne - Letters, VII, 369.

Meyrick, Samuel [expert on armour] - Peveril, III, 41; Letters, VIII,

110, 113.

Mirror for Magistrates [compiled Wm. Baldwin] - Lay, 271; Secret

History, I, 278.

Molesworth, Robert (various writings) - Somers, III, 404; XIII, 873;

Swift, VII, 217; VIII, 281.

Morgan, J.,

Phoenix Britannicus - Minstrelsy, II, 300;

Letters, II, 112.

Morley, George, Bp. of Winchester - Dryden, XVII, 189, 192, 196-7, 200.

Moryson, Fynes,

Itinerary - Lay, 56; Rokeby, 172, 176, 320;

Waverley, I, 415; Quentin, II, 397; Spenser

Review, 93; Dryden, III, 6; IV, 4; Cary, 281,

282, 287; Somers, I, 278, 561, 572, 580 ff;

Secret Hist., I, 47; II, 201; Franck, 373.

Mulgrave - see Sheffield.

Murdin, William,

State Papers - Minstrelsy, I, 154; II, 16, 20,

- 27; IV, 196, 197, 204; Sadler Memoir, 109;
 "Lardner," II, 221; Dryden, VIII, 452; Somers,
 I, 175, 186, 242, 448; II, 448, 451; Sadler
Papers, II, 99, 101, 111.
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 I, 421; Sadler Papers, II, 37; Secret Hist.,
 I, 48, 82, 89, 101, 163, 234; Swift, XI, 311.
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 XII, 256; Dryden, XI, 13.
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Dryden Memoir, XVIII, 100.
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 186; Amadis Review, 25; Letters, VI, 265.
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Pitcairn Review, 246.
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 XI, 287.
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Beckington ... during an embassy to ...
Armagnac - Letters, XI, 85.
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448; Dryden, XVII, 203.

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North, Roger, Examen; Lives of the Norths - Peveril, II, 350, 356; III, 252, 340, 342, 343, 358; Border Antiq., 91; Pepys Review, 148; Demonology, 258; Letters, III, 82; VIII, 66; Dryden, IV, 333; VI, 369; VII, 20-21, 155; IX, 210, 261, 265, 269, 283, 286, 355-7, 378-82, 391, 400, 402-3, 418, 442, 446, 451; X, 79-81, 261, 348, 370; XIII, 67; XV, 210; XVII, 232; Somers, VII, 185; VIII, 70, 97, 117-8, 209, 250-1, 448; IX, 179; X, 591; Swift, VI, 165.

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Oldys, William, Life of Raleigh - Gary, 259; Somers, II, 431, 444.

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- Peck, Francis, Desiderata Curiosa - Lady, 33; Peveril, I, 3; Woodstock, I, 435; Letters, VII, 445; Cary, 294; Somers, IV, 51, 457; V, 81; VI, 145, 153; Secret History, I, 75, 81, 234.
- Pennant, Thomas, Tour in Wales - Marmion, 396.
- Pepys, Samuel, Diary - Minstrelsy, I, 38; Old Mortality, I, 179; Anne, II, 307; Lives, I, 192; II, 256; Pepys

Review passim, Letters, IX, 307, 350, 353, 358,
367; Journal, 58, 64, 69, 81, 156.

Peyton, Edward, Divine Catastrophe of ... the Stewarts - Somers,
II, 182, 222; Secret History, I, 240.

Phoenix Britannicus - see Morgan, J.

Pitts, Thomas, Western Martyrology - Fountainhall, 37.

Plot, Robert, Natural Hist. of Oxfordshire - Woodstock, I, 10,
13, 57; Demonology, 361; Letters, VIII, 391.

Polwhele, Richard, History of Devonshire; History of Cornwall -
Letters, II, 422.

Porter, Hierome, Flower of the Lives of Saints - Lady, 74.

Powel, David, [Historia Cambriae; Giraldus edited with notes] -
Betrothed, 23.

Prynne, William, Histrionastix - Drama, 277; Somers, III, 560.

Raine, James, St. Cuthbert - Marmion, 105.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, Works - Somers, I, 466; II, 199.

Ralph, James, Hist. of England - Dryden, VI, 223; VII, 7, 267;
IX, 163, 166, 174, 180, 264, 275, 367, 383, 397,
404; X, 80, 254, 275, 364; Somers, VIII, 124,
197, 320-1, 328, 387, 410, 420; IX, 32, 50, 240,
267, 281, 298; X, 37, 178, 198, 218, 246, 297,
314, 350, 373, 429, 430, 435, 568, 598; XI, 149,

176, 255, 402.

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- Ratcliffe, Sir George, [Letters] - Somers, IV, 224.
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(text gives "Robert of Cirencester" in error).
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Demonology, 241.
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Sir Tristrem, 396, 398.
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437, 465, 470, 474, 513; IV, 116, 129, 193, 216, 228, 299, 308, 330, 344, 351, 353, 363; V, 68 ff., 140, 437, 628; Secret History, I, 402; II, 48. Foedera - Minstrelsy, I, 363, 370; II, 47; IV, 236; Lord, 226, 280, 334; Castle Dangerous, I, 254; Border Antiq., 87, 136; Provincial Antiq., 166, 221, 301, 350; Letters, III, 148; VII, 217; Dryden, XI, 61; XV, 383; Sadler Papers, I, 72, 457; II, 411, 414; Secret Hist., I, 81; Swift, II, 259; Somerville, I, 108, 159, 181, 218-9.

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Sadler, Sir Ralph, State Papers, etc. - Minstrelsy, I, 139; Marmion, 248, 262; Rokeby, 310; Sadler Memoir, passim; Monastery, II, 362; Border Antiq., 90, 102, 110; Provincial Antiq., 223, 435; Letters, I, 364, 371; II, 20, 24, 36, 53, 61, 85, 93, 175, 245, 266, 271, 298, 316; XII, 397; Somers, I, 260, 481; Somerville, I, 396, 404-5.

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Tytler Review, 159.
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Dryden, X, 305; Somers, X, 22; XI, 16, 462;
XII, 395, 477, 581; XIII, 337, 397, 421; Swift,
II, 141; V, 14.
- Somers Tracts - Fortunes, I, 7; Letters, I, 481; II, 44, 75, 77,
93, 94, 112, 125, 168, 170, 175, 177, 203, 247,
298, 305, 427; III, 29, 77, 95, 136, 298, 331,
475; V, 56; VI, 449; X, 99; XII, 401; Dryden,
VII, 267, 9 passim, Secret Hist., I, 26, 164, 179,
316, 341, 352, 433; II, 67, 340, 352, 360, 377.
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History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen
Anne] - Minstrelsy, III, 333; Letters, I, 121;
Journal, 233.
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Dryden, XVIII, 42; Somers, I, 32.
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State Trials - Heart of Midlothian, I, 35; Monastery, II, 358; Dryden Life, 176, 220; Letters, V, 37, 130, 275, 325; VIII, 457; Slingsby, xiv; Dryden, VI, 4; VII, 20; VIII, 329; IX, 266, 293, 363, 372; XI, 305; XIII, 95; XVIII, 170; Somers, I, 270, 508; II, 99, 110, 113, 143, 284, 352, 419; IV, 56; V, 195 ff., 205, 207, 233; VI, 325 ff; VII, 70; VIII, 43, 225, 270; X, 74; Sadler Papers, II, 340; Secret Hist., I, 231, Swift, II, 260; III, 117, 195; XII, 246; Fountainhall, 23.

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Letters, II, 87; VII, 448; Dryden, XVIII, 42;
Somers, I, 5, 24, 31, 430, 441, 451, 498, 558;
 II, 104, 112, 126, 150; III, 563; Sadler Papers,
 I, 507; II, 36, 57, 82.

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Somers, I, 48, 163, 448; III, 166; Sadler
Papers, I, 571.

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Suffolk Review, passim; Letters, VII, 390;
 VIII, 248, 258, 294.

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Fair Maid, I, 190; Letters, II, 426; IV, 284;
 VII, 288, 313.

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 542; VII, 50.

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Roderick, 367; Ivanhoe, I, 22, 80; Romance,
 201, 203; Border Antiq., 39; Ritson Review,
 351, 370; Letters, I, 270; XII, 221, 403;
Dryden, VIII, 134.
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 I, 69, 71, 74 (this tract printed by Scott in
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in Antiquities etc. - Minstrelsy, II, 253;
Woodstock, II, 21; Fair Maid, I, 66; Morier
Review, 388.
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 XII, 224; Dryden, IV, 3; XI, 349.
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Romance, 149, 161; Ellis Reviews, 7 ff; Godwin
Review, 76; Amadis Review, 6; Johnes Review,
 124; Letters, I, 168; XII, 200, 384;

Swift, IX, 347.

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453; Somers, IV, 51, 106, 199, 257, 367, 372,
446 ff; V, 198, 211, 471; VI, 427; VII, 97.

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Swift, XIX, 388.

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401-2; II, 402; Romance, 146; Prov. Antiq.,
288; Cary, 294; Somers, II, 69, 123, 170, 233,
252, 275-6, 281 ff., 323, 334, 347, 418, 488, 491,
504, 520; V, 442; Secret Hist., I, 272;
Somerville, II, 111.

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Revolution in 1688 - Dryden Life, 243; Somers,
II, 233, 243; V, 201, 232; IX, 260;
Fountainhall, 60, 97.

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VII, 68.

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Woodstock, I, 54; Peveril, I, 119; Dryden, X,
258.

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Prov. Antiq., 331-3; Slingsby, xiii, 137;

Dryden, IX, 447; Somers, IV, 28, 64, 222, 246,

297, 511, 525; V, 205, 208; VI, 269, 271,

284, 353, 431, 436, 443-4, 486, 498, 505, 518;

VII, 52, 86, 95-6, 251; Secret Hist., II, 47;

Swift, IX, 465.

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Tristrem, 379, 414, 427; Lay, 249; Poems, XI,

344; Godwin Review, 76; "Lardner," I, 21;

Dryden, X, 65.

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Lady, 33; Fortunes, II, 265, 407; Somers, I, 266,

488; II, 53, 63, 147-8, 183, 233, 263-4, 277; 485,

501, 517, 520-1, 596; III, 3, 35, 51, 269; IV,

51, 103; Secret Hist., I, 180, 399, 444; II, 47,

165, 241, 259, 354, 360.

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in Ireland - Letters, IV, 174.
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Letters, II, 170, 177, 300; X, 99; XI, 200;
Swift, II, 301; Fracck, 372. (See also Somers
Tracts, Vol. I, for Scott's reprint with notes).
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178, 305; VIII, 258.
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Letters, V, 131.
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Carr Review, 176; Letters, X, 511.
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individual portions are listed separately).
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Rokeby, 53; Legend, 260; Prov. Antiq., 224, 319;
Culloden Papers Review, 52; Kirkton Review, 236;
Somers, IV, 4, 9-13, 215, 218, 224, 232, 415.
425, 428; V, 86, 88; Somerville, II, 193, 197,
198.
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Somers, XI, 487; Swift, X, 184; Fountainhall,
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Antiq., 172.
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Kirkton Review, 223; Letters, I, 294; XI, 268;
Sadler Papers, I, 618; II, 412.
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 III, 43; IV, 112, 129, 240; Sir Tristrem, 4, 12,
 62, 84, 406; Lay, 241; Lord, 13, 64, 68, 85,
 138, 158, 161, 169, 184, 185, 234, 246, 247, 253,
 259, 291, 292, 298, 304, 308, 310, 316, 325, 326,
 336-8, 340, 342, 344, 345, 350; Waverley, I,
 209; Quentin, I, 135; Fair Maid, I, 26, 384;
Castle Dangerous, 252, 258, 261, 268 ff; Romance,
 170, Prov. Antiq., 258, 383; Ellis Reviews, 10;

Letters, I, 252; III, 349, 437, 479, 519, 522;
XII, 253, 420; Lockhart, II, 448; Dryden, IV, 3;
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127, 129, 182; Prov. Antiq., 439.

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43-4, 134; IV, 211; Lady, 311, 315; Rob Roy,
I, 13; Fortunes, I, 404; Canongate, 171, 182;
Culloden Papers Review, 50; Pitcairn Review,
245; "Lardner," II, 335, 340, 371; Somers, I,
521; III, 271.

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401; V, 98.

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Review, 192, 193.

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Sir Tristrem, 9; Marmion, 218; Rokeby, 160;
Antiquary, I, 81, 85, 218; II, 15; Canongate, 175;

Fair Maid, I, 6, 10, 384; II, 388, 392; Castle Dangerous, I, 467; Kemble Review, 157; Ritson Review, 302, 317, 318, 352, 355; Tytler Review, 186; Demonology, 273; "Lardner", I, 352; Letters, I, 198; III, 425; VII, 450; Somers, III, 345, 402; Swift, X, 494; Somerville, I, 92, 199.

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Antiq., 168, 170, 387; Ritson Review, 304, 318, 352, 354; Tytler Review; 186; Grandfather, II, 41; Demonology, 273; "Lardner," I, 32; II, 241; Letters, I, 161; III, 435; VIII, 48; Lockhart, I, 32; Dryden, IX, 208; Somers, III, 279; Sadler Papers, I, 321, 265; Secret Hist., I, 383; Swift, X, 494; Somerville, I, 230, 344.

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Fountainhall, 143.

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276; Abbot, I, 228; Fortunes, I, 399; Demonology,
151; Somers, II, 152, 224, 487-8; V, 415.
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260; Landlord Review, 41; Somers, XII, 358;
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Mannering, I, 62; Heart of Midlothian, I, 15;
Canongate, 25; Fair Maid, I, 5; Provincial
Antiq., 158, 175, 186, 334; Letters, IV, 152;
 V, 68, 320; VIII, 458; XI, 82, 430; Journal, 3;
Dryden, XIV, 223; Somers, XI, 568; Somerville,
 I, 108, 134, 151, 156, 171, 178, 419, 426;
Fountainhall, 40; Gwynne, vii, xi, 88.

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 II, 4; VIII, 444.

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447; Ritson Review, 302; Tytler Review, 157,
188; Pitcairn Review, 235; "Lardner" I, 56,
198, 249; Letters, I, 113, 160; VI, 269; VII,
446; XII, 222, 227, 234; Lockhart, I, 330;
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93, 112.

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311, 332; II, 316; III, 43; IV, 135-6, 236, 268;
Marmion, 159; Lord, 13, 57, 83, 104, 199, 223,
249, 259, 291, 301, 336, 341; Monastery, II, 367;
Fair Maid, II, 392; Border Antiq., 58; Provincial
Antiq., 223, 397, 405; Johnes Review, 130; Ritson
Review, 314 ff, 371; Tytler Review, 186 ff;
"Lardner" I, 179, 203; Letters, III, 102, 130, 144,
425; IV, 322; VI, 320; VII, 450; VIII, 48, 444;

X, 232; XI, 54; Journal, 378, 607, 620; Swift, IX, 372; Somerville, I, 92-3, 270.

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stery, II, 282; "Lardner", I, 34; Letters, VIII,
97; XII, 254.

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Culloden Papers Review, 22; Carr Review, 179;
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I, 348, 352, 355; II, 86, 364, 368, 369; Red-
gauntlet, I, 360; Border Antiq., 140; Landlord
Review, 49, 52, 72-4, 84; Letters, IV, 320;
X, 109, 200; Somers, VII, 255; Swift, X, 140;
Fountainhall, 18, 24, 90.

" " Appendix to the above, entitled The Judgment and
Justice of God Exemplified - Minstrelsy, II, 211;

Old Mortality, I, 352; Redgauntlet, I, 360;

Kirkton Review, 272; Demonology, 82; Somerville,
II, 203; Fountainhall, XI, 64.

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357; II, 363.

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145, 147, 149, 220, 347, 348, 350, 394; II, 17, 19,
20, 29, 30, 147; III, 3, 329; IV, 197-9; Lay,
190, 208, 214, 247; Marmion, 262; Lady, 80, 242;
Lord, 332, 333; Monastery, II, 365; Fair Maid,
II, 279; Castle Dangerous, I, 252, 254, 261 ff;
Sadler Memoir, 91; Chivalry, 36; Border Antiq.,
50, 108; Provincial Antiq., 164, 167, 221, 225,
430-34; Grandfather, II, 164; "Lardner", I, 282;
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230, 452.

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341; "Lardner," I, 317; Letters, IV, 372; V, 74;
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III, 130, 142; Somerville, I, 184, 190, 192,
200, 214.

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128; Provincial Antiq., 361; Pitcairn Review, 222;
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Memoir, 107; Letters, I, 161; VII, 449; Somers,

III, 358-9, 373; Somerville, I, 30; Fountainhall,

5.

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Lady, 265; Old Mortality, I, 347; Peveril, II, 349-50; Provincial Antiq., 306; Landlord Review, 35, 58, 69; Demonology, 287, 320; Letters, I, 47; IV, 33, 153, 240; V, 334; VII, 88, 94, 170, 174; VIII, 19, 35, 131; Dryden, VII, 263; X, 82; Somers, V, 64; XI, 498; Fountainhall, 8, 78, 79, 91, 125, 263.

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53, 81, 91, 92, 144; Provincial Antiq., 307,
316, 422; Ritson Review, 304; Letters, VIII, 48;
XI, 200; Cary, xxxii; Somers, I, 186, 242.

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Tristrem, 397-8, 419; Letters, XII, 387; Dryden,
XI, 283.

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I, 590, 592; IV, 535; V, 279.

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I, 418.

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Minstrelsy, I, 176, 197, 208, 415; II, 192, 207,
319; III, 69, 114; IV, 309; Lay, 101, 134, 237;
Marmion, 80, 232, 382; Lady, 120; Letters, IV,
17.

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18, 23, 51, 69, 80, 87, 89 ff., 97, 101; Legend,
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98; Dryden, XIII, 111; Somers, III, 96; Swift,
X, 166; Fountainhall, 133.

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 464.
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II, 363; Abbot, II, 368; Pitcairn Review, 223;
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222; "Lardner", II, 93, 114, 140, 187, 199;
Letters, VIII, 318, 329, 355, 357; X, 220, 222;
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James I - Marmion, 145.

James II - Minstrelsy, I, 177; Sir Tristrem, 55, 402;

Lay, 113; Border Antiq., 64; Letters, XII, 254.

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James IV - Marmion, 242; Provincial Antiq., 423; Culloden Papers Review, 43.

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Mary - Lay, 234; Lady, 240; Provincial Antiq., 206; Demonology, 292.

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197; Letters, IV, 322; VI, 320; VII, 179;
VIII, 48, 444; XI, 200, 491; XII, 188, 191;
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4, 48; Secret Hist., I, 277; II, 339; Somerville
I, 230, 270, 329, 348, 376.

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Demonology, 2, 141, 155, 286, 299; Letters,
X, 248; XI, 70, 412.

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116, 121, 404-5; II, 147; IV, 197, 280; Lay
232, 276; Marmion, 251, 253, 261, 303, 326, 333,
375, 388, 390, 392; Lady, 76, 99, 100, 212, 347;
Waverley, I, 330; Redgauntlet, I, 209; Betrothed,
28; Provincial Antiq., 166, 177, 387, 419, 432-4;
"Lardner", I, 328; II, 13; Letters, I, 19, 344;
II, 91, 426; VI, 321, 463; VIII, 48, 319, 444;
XII, 349; Sadler Papers, I, 30, 254, 265; Somer-
ville, I, 189, 228, 252, 264, 367, 390, 416.

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Grandfather, V, 26.

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I, 4, 5, 11, 12; Heart of Midlothian, I, 16;

Legend, 4, 16; Fortunes, I, 398; Provincial

Antiquities, 347, 350, 444; Culloden Papers

Review, 48; Demonology, 303; Letters, XI,

226; Secret Hist., I, 143; II, 331; Swift,

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VI, 321.

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Antiquary, I, 103; Prov. Antiq., 158; Lardner,

I, 67, 162.

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Review, 375; Tytler Review, 179; Letters, XII,

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 205; XI, 154, 168, 176; XII, 215, 258, 387;
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 201; Kenilworth, I, 1; Fair Maid, I, 24;
Chivalry, 123; Provincial Antiq., 450; Lives,
 II, 216; "Lardner," II, 71, 106, 148, 257; Letters,
 I, 164; IV, 322; V, 335, 430; VI, 321; VIII,
 48, 444; Journal, 378; Somers, I, 509; III,
 260; Sadler Papers, II, 416.
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Lady, 322; Dramas, 92; Antiquary, I, 62, 99;

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Papers, I, 72.

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Gwynne, 79.

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46, 47, 49, 134, 139; III, 129; IV, 133, 136,

147, 201, 215, 308; Sir Tristrem, 21; Lord, 68;

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II, 203, 207, 311, 335, 340, 343, 362, 399;

Dryden, XVII, 159; Cary, 13; Somers, I, 6, 239,

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I, 11; Home Review, 362; Letters, XI, 378.

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Grandfather, V, 425; Letters, IV, 52; XI,

120, 178, 187, 214, 276; 302; XII, 8; Journal,

382, 662.

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649.

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VIII, 404.
- Taylor, John, (water-poet), [Pennyless Pilgrimage] - Marmion, 376;
Waverley, I, 331.
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620.
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- Urquhart, Sir Thomas, Tracts - Provincial Antiquities, 183.
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- Wallace, George [Nature and descent of ancient peerages ... Scotland] Letters, I, 202.
- Wallace, James, Description of the Islands of Orkney - Pirate, I, 355, 396.
- Wight, Alexander, Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of Parliament in Scotland - Somers, XII, 610.
- Wilson, William (writer on the Covenanters) - Minstrelsy, II, 234; Old Mortality, I, 356; Letters, IV, 320; Swift, X, 128.

- Wishart, George, Life of Montrose - Minstrelsy, II, 170, 173-4, 191, 193; Legend, 18; Culloden P. Review, 48; Grandfather, III, 24; Letters, II, 406; Somerville, II, 331-5; Gwynne, 91.
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- Wood, John, Peerage - See "Douglas, Robert."
- Wyntoun, Andrew of, Original Chronicle - Minstrelsy, I, 312, 320, 332, 341, 346, 347, 350, 364; II, 103; III, 52; IV, 113, 129, 268, 315, 351; Sir Tristrem, 4, 13, 91, 118, 374, 386, 390, 391; Lay, 246; Rokeby, 160; Lord, 291; Antiquary, I, 101; Fair Maid, I, 5, 6, 26, 258; II, 147, 321, 389; Chivalry, 38; Prov. Antiq., 299, 349, 397; Ellis Reviews, 10; Godwin Review, 76; Kemble Review, 157; Ritson Review, 302, 354; Pitcairn Review, 207; "Lardner", I,

188, 249; Letters, I, 160; III, 425, 437;
XII, 214, 219; Sadler Papers, I, 698;
Somerville, I, 92, 125.

Appendix II(A).SOMERS TRACTS.

Pieces contained in the first edition, 1748, and apparently omitted in Scott's.

Note:- The volumes of the first edition are numbered on the title-pages as four collections of four volumes each. The volumes of the set in Edinburgh University Library are however numbered 1-16 on the spines, and this latter system, being simpler, is used here.

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| 'The character of a Tory'< | VII, 282. |
| 'The character of an honest lawyer' | IV, 305. |
| 'Copy of a paper found on the Speaker's Chair,
Jan. 16., 1689.' | I, 351. |
| 'Earl of Essex's Speech at the delivery of the petition
to the King, Jan. 25, 1680.' | VII, 270. |
| 'The King's reasons (with some reflections upon them)
for withdrawing himself from Rochester' [1688]: | XIV, 276. |
| 'The King's Noble Entertainment at York' [1641]: | IX, 282. |
| 'The Last Memorial of the Spanish Ambassador ...'[1681]: | VII, 308. |
| 'The Lord Bishop of Rochester's Letter to ...
Ecclesiastical Court' [1688]: | XIV, 221. |
| 'The Loyal Speech of George Plaxtone ... upon the | |

- proclamation of ... King James II: ' III, 322.
- 'Letter from a Nobleman Abroad' [1722]: XVI, 416.
- 'Renowned speech ... at the ... assembly ... of
Yorkshire, by Sir P. Stapleton; ' VI, 152.
- 'Reasons ... by ... Westminster ... to ...
Parliament ... against ... Portestant strangers
exercising trades: ' II, 396.
- 'Reply to a new test of the Church of England's
loyalty' [1687] ("Such nauseous stuff"):- III, 427.
- 'Speech of King Henry VIII in the Parliament in the
37th Year of his reigh' IX, 3.
- 'Short discourse concerning the reading of His
Majesty's late Declaration in the churches'
[Bishop of Hereford, 1688]: II, 361.
- 'Speech of an honourable peer in the House of
Lords' [1689]: VII, 441.
- 'Speech of Sir Peter King, Kt., ... to the King's
most excellent Majesty, upon his royal entry,
Sept. 20, 1714' II, 388.
- 'True Relation of ... murder of the Archbishop of
St. Andrews': I, 385.

[The "True and exact relation of the Prince of Orange's public

entrance into Exeter, given in the first, edition, 7/419, is not given in the second, but in any case it is only an extract from another tract, "Expedition of ... the Prince of Orance for England," given in the first edition, 14, 257, and in Scott's, 9/276].

Appendix II(B)SOMERS TRACTS.

Tracts in Scott's edition, claimed by him as his own additions to the collection, and which are so in fact.

- 'Injunctions given by the Queenes Majesty concerning both the clergy and laity of this realm' [1559: Elizabethan settlement of religion] I, 64.
- 'True copy of the proclamation lately published for the declaring of the sentence lately given against the Queen of Scots' [1587] I, 236.
- 'The Actions of the Low Countries, written by Sir Roger Williams' I, 329.
- 'True report of the lamentable death of l.. Prince of Orange' [1584] I, 407.
- 'A Pack of Spanish lies. ... ' [1588] I, 453.
- 'The Image of Ireland' [J. Derricke: Elizabethan conquest] I, 558.
- 'Great Britain's Salomon' [Bishop of Lincoln's sermon on death of James I] II, 33.
- 'The King's Majesty's declaration ... concerning sports to be used' [1618] II, 53.

- 'The Narrative History of King James for the first fourteen years' [Anti-royalist pamphlet, Commonwealth period. Of its four parts, the third appears in the 1st Ed. of Somers Tracts, X, 1.] II, 262.
- 'Vox Populi, or News from Spain' [1620: anti-Spanish-match] II, 508.
- 'True Relation and Journal of the manner of the arrival of ... Prince Charles... Madrid' [1623: Spanish match] II, 524.
- 'Prince Charles his welcome from Spain' [1623: Taylor the Water-poet] II, 550.
- 'Vox Coeli' [1624: Spanish match] II, 555.
- 'Robert Earl of Essex his ghost' [Spanish match] II, 596.
- 'Heaven's Blessing and Earth's Joy' [Taylor celebrates Palatinate marriage] III, 43.
- 'The Foot out of the snare' [1624: anti-Catholic] III, 49.
- 'The Wonderful discovery of witches in the county of Lancaster' [1613] III, 95.
- 'True narrative of the strange and grievous vexation by the Devil of seven persons in Lancashire' [1600] III, 160.
- 'Certain matters concerning the realm of Scotland' [Monipenny's Chronicle, 1597] III, 30.

- 'Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry' [Thomas Tusser,
1599, on country life & economy] III, 403.
- 'The School of abuse' [1579: tract against the stage] III, 552.
- 'Discovery of the wonderful preservation of ... Sir
Thomas Fairfax' [1647: Puritan pulpit eloquence] IV, 70.
- 'The Decoy Duck' [1642: attack on Archbishop Williams] IV, 166.
- 'My Lord Lieutenant of Ireland his speech to His
Majesty upon his Creation' [Strafford] IV, 199.
- 'True copy of the sentence of war pronounced against
Sir Francis Annesley, Knight, and Baron Mountnorris
in the realm of Ireland' [1641: Strafford] IV, 202.
- 'Petition preferred to the Lower House of Parliament
against the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for causing a
gentleman to be hanged ...' [Strafford] IV, 208.
- 'The extent of My Lord Lieutenant's charge of
treasons ... digested into seven articles ...' [with
a second charge, and further articles delivered by the
House of Commons against Strafford] IV, 209.
- 'Conclusion of the Earl of Strafford's Defence' IV, 222.
- 'Earl of Strafford characterised ...' IV, 230.
- 'Printed paper called the Lord Digby's speech to the
Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford' IV, 235.

- 'Answer to the Lord Digby's speech' IV, 238.
- 'Earl of Strafford's Letter to his son' IV, 248.
- 'Reflections of King Charles I upon the Earl of
Strafford's death' IV, 252.
- 'Protestation against a foolish ... speech pretended
to be spoken by Thomas Wentworth ... (etc.)' IV, 260.
- 'Reasonable motion in the behalf of such of the clergy
as are now questioned in Parliament for their places'
[1641: attack on C. of E.] IV, 265.
- 'Discontented conference betwixt ... [Laud] and ...
Strafford' IV, 268.
- 'Downfall of greatness for the loss of goodness'
[Strafford] IV, 270.
- 'Description of the passage of Thomas, Earl of
Strafford, on the river of Styx' [1641] IV, 273.
- 'Great satisfaction concerning the death of the Earl
of Strafford ...' IV, 277.
- 'Epitaphs on the Earl of Strafford' IV, 296.
- 'Whisper in the Ear^s [1642: royalist tract] IV, 491.
- '(Present survey of London and England's state'
Wm. Lithgow: defence of London 1645] IV, 534.

- 'British Lightning' [1643: translation of a Dutch pamphlet on the civil troubles in Britain] V, 3.
- 'Cordial of Judge Jenkins' [1647: constitutional controversy] V, 115.
- 'Independent's Loyalty' [1648: events at Carisbrooke Castle] V, 152.
- 'Declarations of the Commons' [1648: proceedings after Pride's Purge] V, 167.
- 'Ordinance for declaring all votes ... since ... July 26th until the 6th of this present August 1647 to be null and void' V, 173.
- 'Experimental and exact relation upon that famous and renowned siege of Newcastle' [1645: William Lithgow] V, 279.
- 'True and impartial history of the military government of the city of Gloucester' [1647] V, 296.
- 'Short memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax written by himself' [publ. 1699] V, 374.
- Litany*
'The ~~Litany~~ of John Bastwick' [1637 - anti-prelatic] V, 407.
- 'Wit and Loyalty revived' [1682: satires on puritanism] V, 479.
- 'Edmund Ward's English translation of "Rustica Academiae Oxoniensis Reformatae Descriptio"' V, 506.
- 'Hunting of the Foxes' [1649: tract by discontented]

Cromwellian troopers]	VI, 44.
'True portraiture of the Kings of England' [1650: republican tract]	VI, 77.
'Coronation of Charles the Second ... at Scone' [1651]	VI, 117.
'Answer of the Parliament ... to States General ...' [1652]	VII, 20.
'Earl of Pembroke's speech in Parliament ...' [1648: royalist attack on a renegade]	VII, 79.
'Last Will and Testament of the Earl of Pembroke [do.]	VII, 89.
'Bibliotheca Parliamenti' [1653: royalist squib]	VII, 93.
'Don Juan Lamberto' [satire on republicans]	VII, 104.
'Character of England' [1659: satire on social life]	VII, 176.
'Art of Thriving' [1635: ditto]	VII, 187.
'Mystery and misery of lending and borrowing' [1636: a satire]	VII, 209.
'Ravillac Redivivus' [1678: Jas. Mitchell's attempt to murder Sharpe]	VIII, 510.
'True History of the captivity and restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson' [1682: New England Puritan tract]	VIII, 554.
'Sermon preached at Weatherfield' [1678: New England Puritanism]	VIII, 582.

Appendix II(C)SOMERS TRACTS

Tracts in Scott's edition, not claimed by him as his own additions,
to the collection, but which are so in fact.

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|--|-----------|
| 'Mr. Maynard's Speech' [summing-up against Strafford
1641] | IV, 218. |
| 'Persuasive to mutual compliance' [1652: apology for
Cromwell] | VI, 153. |
| 'Healing question propounded ... by Henry Vane' [1660] | VI, 303. |
| 'Declaration of ... Montrose ...' [1649: Scott gives two
such documents, as against the first edition's one] | VII, 15. |
| 'Truth's Discovery' [1664: Cavalier discontent] | VII, 557. |
| 'Cabala, or an impartial account of Nonconformists'
private designs ...' [1663: anti-Puritan] | VII, 567. |
| 'True and faithful narrative of the sufferings and
oppressions of many Christians ... called fanatics'
[1671: pro-Dissenter] | VII, 586. |
| 'Innocency and Truth vindicated' [1689: death of
Essex] | X, 72. |

Appendix II(D)SOMERS TRACTS

Tracts in Scott's edition, claimed by him as his own additions to the collection, but which are not so in fact.

First Edition

Scott's Edition

IV, 212	'True narrative of the title, government, and cause of the death of the late Charles Stuart, King of England' [1649]	V, 248.
XII, 107	'Dissenting Ministers' Vindication of themselves from the horrid and detestable murder of King Charles I...'	V, 258
VI, 129	'Forerunner of Revenge'	V, 437
VI, 374	'Murder will out' [Irish Massacre, 1641]	V, 624
VI, 378	'True and full relation of the horrible and hellish plot of the Jesuits ...' [1641]	V, 628
VI, 380	'Vindication of the Royal Martyr King Charles I from the Irish massacre in the year 1641'	V, 630

VI, 390	'Irish Massacre seen in a clear light'	V, 639
XIII, 401	'King of Scotland's negotiations at Rome' [1650]	VI, 103
III, 393	'Modest Vindication of Oliver Cromwell'	VI, 416